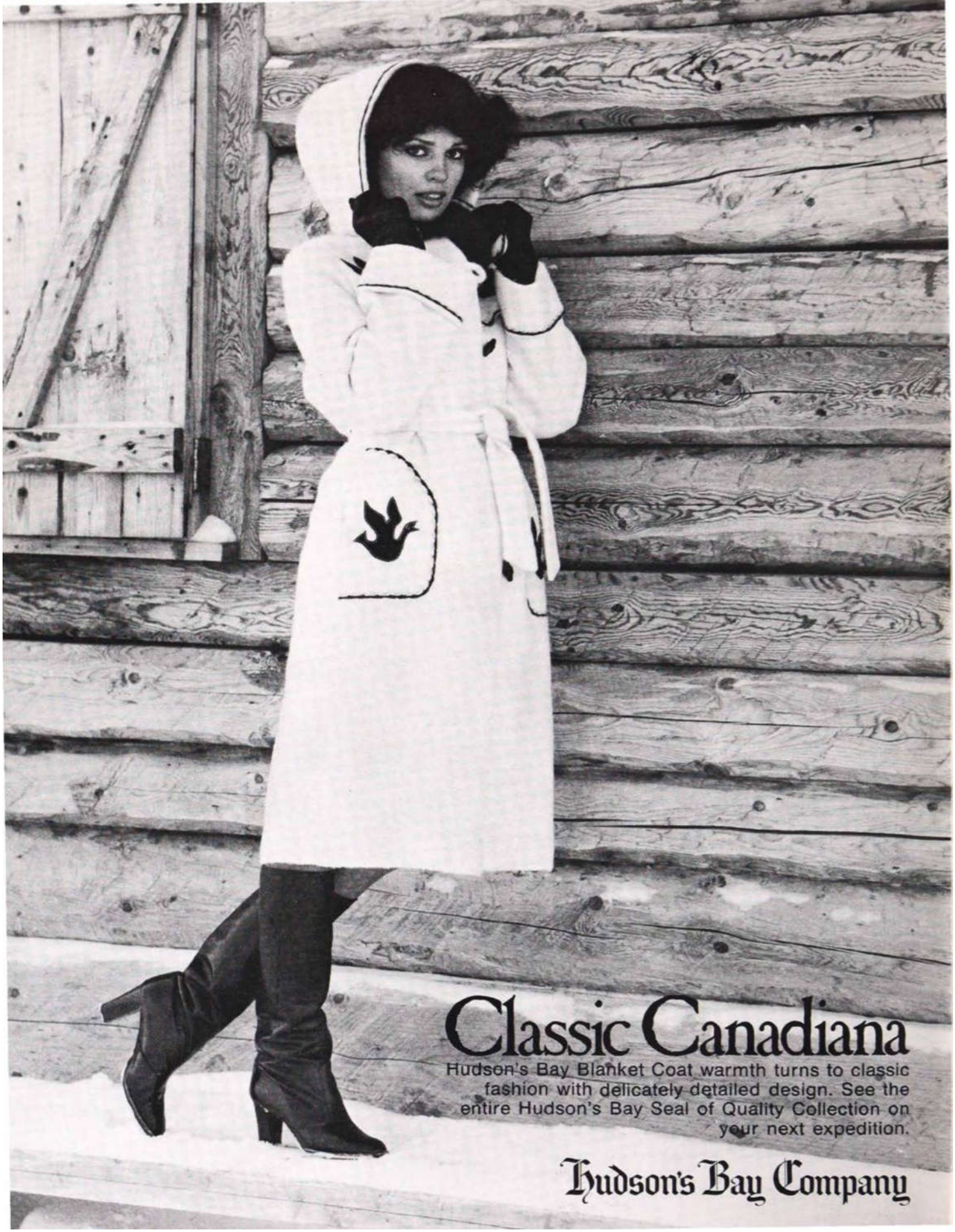
The Beaver

SPRING 1978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COVER: *'The Forks'* by W. Frank Lynn, showing the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers with Fort Garry in the distance, c. 1872. From the Winnipeg Art Gallery Collection.

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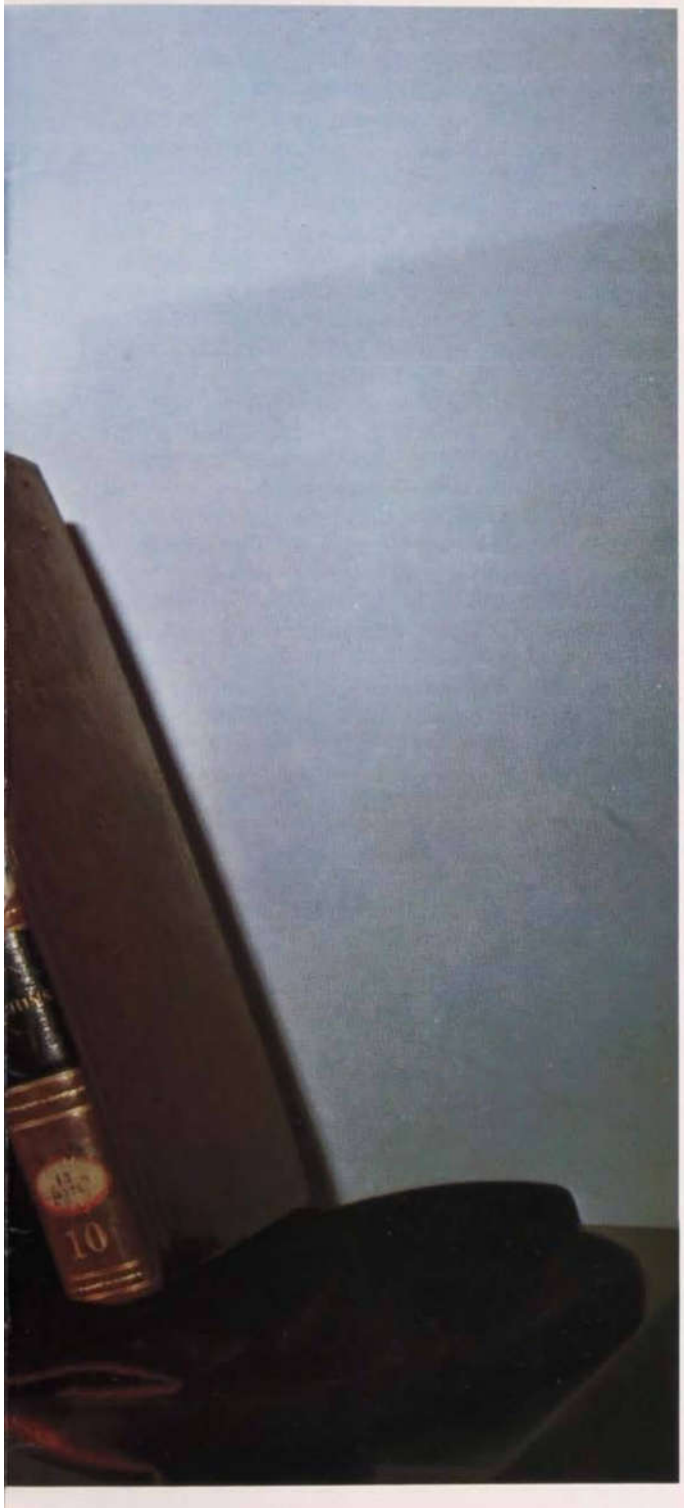
Andrew Graham and Thomas Hutchins

Collaboration and Plagiarism in 18th-Century Natural History

These ten volumes of 'Observations' dated from 1767 form an invaluable record of man's experience in the human, wildlife, and trading world of the Canadian North over a period of twenty-five years. Were they the work of Andrew Graham or Thomas Hutchins?

BY GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

Dr Glyndwr Williams is Professor of History at Queen Mary College, University of London, and a former General Editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society. Photographs of documents and excerpts from its archives by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

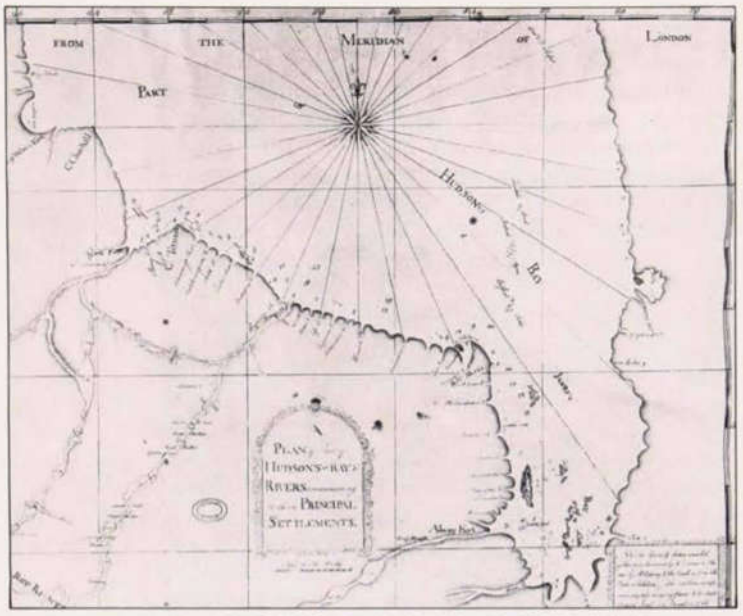


DURING MY YEARS as General Editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, the most personally stimulating and demanding of the textual volumes issued was undoubtedly *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1767-1791* (1969). Problems of selection, compilation and annotation were challenging enough; but the most intriguing feature of the manuscript 'Observations' which formed the basis of the volume was the central problem of authorship. Were they the work of Andrew Graham or Thomas Hutchins? Dr Richard Glover investigated the problem in his Introduction to the volume; I looked at it again from a rather different aspect in several appendices to the book. Our final decision, that the 'Observations' were the work of Graham, was reached without too much difficulty, but paradoxically enough that firm conclusion provoked further puzzles at every turn. A thick file of correspondence accumulated between Glover and myself on the subject; a new Hutchins letter turned up at a London bookseller in 1968 when our typescript draft was almost ready for the printer; and finally, with the book in page proof, and six weeks away from publication, a lengthy Hutchins manuscript (noted by a scholar in 1951, but unknown to either Glover or myself) was rediscovered in the Archives of the Royal Society. With material bearing on the relationship between Graham and Hutchins scattered through the Record Society volume, as indeed it is dispersed in its original form in archives in London, Edinburgh, Winnipeg and San Marino, it seemed worth while to set out the problem of authorship once again, this time in more compact and perhaps more coherent form, and with illustrations of some of the key documents concerned. Two points should be made clear from the outset. The conclusions are in a formal way my responsibility, and in one place at least now differ from those put forward in the Record Society volume; but they still owe much to the ideas, promptings and detective instincts which Richard Glover brought to our joint enterprise in the late 1960s.

The main collection of documents to be considered is in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg. They were briefly described in my editorial preface to the Record Society volume as

> ten manuscript volumes . . . running to more than two thousand pages, and written over a period of about twenty-five years. Although his own service was limited to the Bay-side posts of Churchill, York and Severn, Graham was an avid collector of information from officers at the more southerly posts, from the Company's inland traders, and not least from the Indians; and this volume reflects the breadth of his interests. His notes cover natural history, the Indians and Eskimos of the Bay region, conditions of life at the Company posts, and problems of trading policy and practice. In addition, the 'Observations' include copies of journals kept by several of the Company's inland servants, and transcripts of a variety of documents ranging from the Company's charter to lists of meteorological data.

To these ten volumes must be added a nineteen-page manuscript of 'Remarks on Hudsons Bay Trade' by



A section of Graham's manuscript map of 1772 showing York and Severn and the coastline in between.

Graham which is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, a sixty-four folio manuscript of natural history observations by Graham in Edinburgh University Library, a brief set of natural history notes by Hutchins which is now in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a manuscript of more than a hundred pages in length of natural history 'remarks' by Hutchins in the Archives of the Royal Society, London.

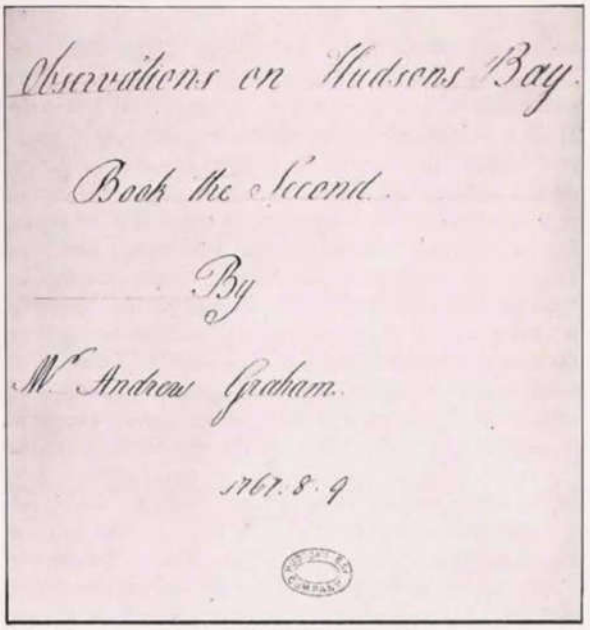
The importance of the 'Observations' is undoubted. Despite their errors and deficiencies, they contain material of interest to naturalists, anthropologists and historians. Extracts from them were printed in the great natural history compilations of the late eighteenth century; more recently, they have been drawn upon by scholars from a variety of disciplines who have found in them a treasure trove of detailed information. In brief, they form an invaluable record of man's experience in the human, wildlife and trading world of the Canadian North over a period of a quarter-century or more. The uncertainty about their authorship arises from two basic sources: firstly, at one point Graham and Hutchins collaborated with each other in the keeping of natural history and meteorological observations in Hudson's Bay; secondly, standard works on natural history published in Britain from the 1780s onwards referred to Hutchins, already known to the scientific world, as the writer of the 'Observations'. But this is the barest outline of the problem; the more it is investigated, the more bizarre and, in some places, inexplicable the whole story becomes.

Andrew Graham was by far the senior of the two men as far as length of service in Hudson Bay was concerned. He reached the Bay as 'a youth' in 1749, and apart from a year's leave in 1769-70 lived there until his retirement in 1775. He served at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill River (1749-53), at York Factory (1753-61), at Severn House as master from 1761 to 1774 (with three intervals away of a year each), at York again as Acting Chief (1765-6, 1771-2), and finally back at Churchill once more, this time as Chief, in 1774-5. Hutchins had a shorter and more limited career in Hudson Bay: he was surgeon at York from 1766 to 1773, and Chief at Albany from 1774 to 1782. As far as Graham was concerned, a formative influence was James Isham, his Chief at York from 1753 to 1761. Isham was a Company servant of limited education but boundless curiosity whose manuscript volume of 'Observations' written in 1743 anticipated those kept by Graham, and may have provided him with a model for conscious imitation. Certainly, the speech made by the 'Indian Leader' on his annual trading visit to York is rendered in almost identical words in Isham and in Graham. The Isham volume (published by the Record Society in 1949) is a mixture of natural history observations, descriptions of the Indians, and comments on trading matters — as, in their more elaborate way, are the volumes written by Graham. In another way Isham set an example for Graham to follow, for he provided the English naturalist George Edwards with notes on more than thirty North American birds which were published in Edwards' *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds* (Part III, 1750) along with illustrations taken from the stuffed specimens brought home by Isham in 1745. The two men obviously had a strong respect for each other, and as gout and old age crippled Isham he relied increasingly on Graham to run the affairs of York Factory. In his turn, Graham was still referring to Isham years after his death in 1761 in the warmest of terms — 'a very good, able gentleman . . . well beloved by the natives'. At York the 1750s were years of unusual enterprise and excitement as Company servants under Isham's direction, Anthony Henday in particular, penetrated deep into the interior. Graham's interest in these matters, and his readiness to record that interest in written form despite his lack of much formal education, are shown by the three versions of Henday's exploration journal of 1754-5 which appear in Graham's 'Observations'.

When Graham first began to take an active interest in the wildlife of Hudson Bay is impossible to say. The earliest-known dated volume of his 'Observations' has as its title-page, 'Observations on Hudsons Bay. Book the Second. Mr. Andrew Graham. 1767.8.9'. The first 'Book' is missing, and may have borne an earlier date, but in any event the contents of the surviving volume and of others written by Graham at about this time bear the stamp of some years' experience and observation of wildlife. Another volume, dated 1768-9, has a significant reference to the fact that the trading

Indians who came down to Severn each summer brought Graham bird 'skins stuffed and dried . . . from inland' — an improbable thing to do unless Graham's interests were widely known. In short, by the time Graham sailed for England in 1769 on his first visit home in twenty years his interest in natural history was well established. His year's leave was important in more ways than one. It was then that he obtained the book which he was in future to use as his standard reference work — the second edition of Pennant's *British Zoology* (1768-70). It also happened to be the time when the Royal Society, possibly at the joint prompting of Pennant and Graham (the evidence that the two men met at this time is circumstantial but strong) asked the Hudson's Bay Company to obtain for it natural history specimens from the Bay. With Samuel Wegg both a member of the Committee of the Company and a Fellow of the Royal Society, approval was readily given, and officers at the Bayside posts received instructions to send home 'Sundry Species'. The factors reacted with varying degrees of enthusiasm — Ferdinand Jacobs at York managed to procure only two specimens in 1771 — but none could approach the scale of Graham's collection from Severn: no fewer than sixty-four birds' skins. With them Graham sent 'Descriptive and Historical remarks' which were used, with due acknowledgement, by John Reinhold Forster in three articles in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, and by Daines Barrington in another article in the same periodical — all published in 1772 and 1773. Altogether, the Royal Society received from the Hudson's Bay Company in the autumn of 1771 'eight boxes of stuffed and dried skins of Quadrupeds, Birds etc; and also a collection of stones and Fossils'; and further consignments were shipped across the Atlantic each year until 1775.

So far, so good; Graham was known, within and outside Company circles, as a natural history enthusiast. The first elements of confusion enter the scene during the 1771-2 season when Graham was appointed Acting Chief at York, and there renewed his acquaintanceship with Hutchins, surgeon at the factory since 1766. That by this time the two men were on familiar terms, and recognized in the other a kindred spirit, is fairly certain. Each summer since Hutchins' arrival at York, Graham had visited the factory with the furs collected at his outpost on the Severn River two hundred and forty miles along the coast. The length of his stay varied from about a week to more than a month, and although it was a bustling time of the trading year, with the ship being loaded for its homeward voyage, Graham and Hutchins would have had ample opportunity to get to know each other. Evidence of this comes from the fact that within two days of Graham's formal assumption of command at York in September 1771 the two men began to keep a volume of meteorological observations, an enterprise


Observations on Hudsons Bay.

Book the Second.

By

Mr Andrew Graham.

1767. 8. 9

The title-page from the earliest-known, dated volume of Graham's 'Observations'.

which they had clearly planned well in advance. They had sought the advice of the astronomer and mathematician William Wales (who had experienced Bay conditions during his year at Churchill in 1768-9 in connection with observations of the transit of Venus), and obtained from him precise instructions on the method to be followed in observing the eclipse of the sun expected in early November. Wales had also chosen the barometer and thermometer which were sent to York, as Hutchins explained in his 'Meteorological Remarks':

> The instruments used in taking these observations are a barometer and thermometer of Nairne's construction, and we have great reason to think them both very good as Mr Wales the astronomer (who remarked the last transit of Venus at Churchill) was commissioned to send them. The thermometer is that termed the standard with Fahrenheit's scale; the freezing point is at the thirty-second degree above the Cypher. It is placed on the top of the Fort, in a half lanthorn or watch-house open only towards the North, consequently the sun never shines on the instrument. The barometer is hung in a small room adjoining to that in which the Governor constantly resides . . . The direction of the wind is observed by the vane on a flag-staff about fifty feet high, and inserted in the register by the letters usually inscribed on the Mariner's Compass.

The winter was a hard one; two men were killed and one injured in an accident on the ice, and most of the others were sick at one time or other. As surgeon, Hutchins was kept busy, although ill himself for part of the time. He was, Graham reported on one occasion, 'employed night as well as day. He informs me his medicines run very low, many articles being expended.' Despite these difficulties, the daily weather records were faithfully kept, although when Hutchins was laid low the hard-pressed Graham had to admit that 'the observations are not so regular as could be wished.' Even more impressive is the fact that the two

colleagues were busy collecting, classifying and describing natural history specimens. Graham's volume of 'Observations' for this season (E.2/9 in the H B C Archives) is a handsome volume of 274 pages with much fuller entries on natural history, as well as on the Indians and Eskimos, than in any of the earlier five volumes which are known to exist. It is, in a way, the archetypal volume of the ten which are now known collectively as Graham's 'Observations'. In another sense its length is a tribute to the help and stimulus which the presence of Hutchins brought to Graham. An endearing indication of the seriousness with which Graham intended to take his literary efforts during his spell in the more spacious quarters of York was given in a journal entry which shows that in the fall of 1771 he ordered the carpenter and smith to make him a writing desk. The aids which a scholar in Europe took for granted — a study, libraries near to hand, learned friends — were unknown to Graham. In 1768, when already engaged in writing his early volume of 'Observations', his post journal at Severn contained a revealing entry: 'Shipwright making an armchair; I have never had any chairs but four old ones that belonged to the late Flamborough House.' At least at York in 1771-2 he had a desk, a copy of Pennant, a microscope, and a companion with similar interests. The deficiencies of both understanding and detail in Graham's 'Observations' have been precisely documented in the Record Society volume; but after listing the defects and errors one must still be impressed by the zeal, dedication and knowledge revealed. Graham rarely referred to the difficulties under which he worked, but his colleague Humphrey Marten at Albany was not as reticent. Struggling to obey the instructions of the Company to send specimens and notes home for the Royal Society, Marten explained in forthright terms the conditions under which he had laboured in 1772 in preserving and describing the twenty-four birds he had obtained:

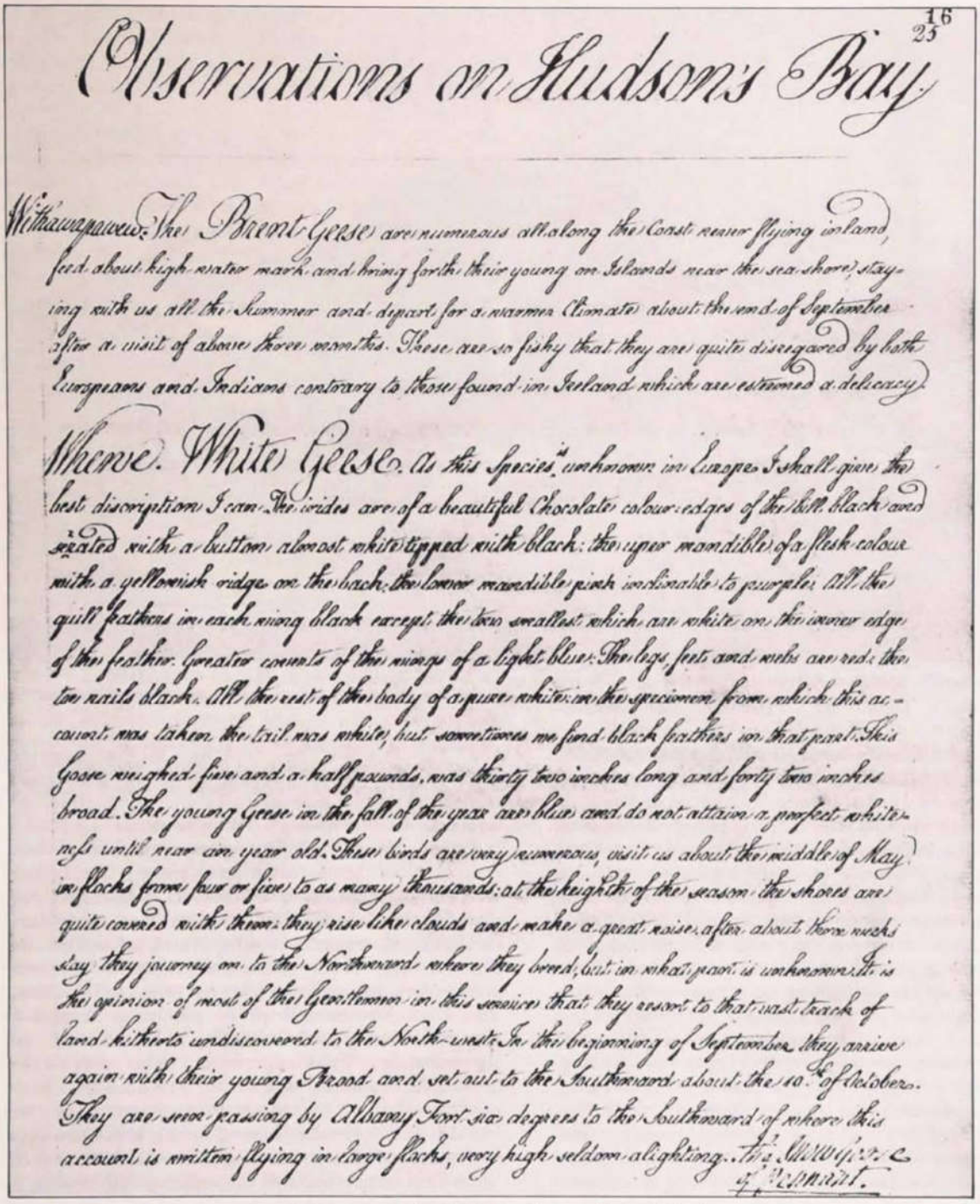
> I hope those Gentlemen that inspect the aforewritten history of birds will observe, that I do not absolutely declare all I have set down to be truth, except in what regards the swallow and martin . . . As to the others, as to number of eggs, food, and the difference between male and female, I was obliged to have the best Indian intelligence I could get. I trusted not to the assertions of any single person, let his age or experience be what it would, therefore hope I am near the truth, if not quite so. I could have wished that when I received orders from my masters to make a collection of birds etc. that the Naturalists' Journal, as also the British Zoology, had been sent to me, for which I would have paid with thanks; fine seed shot, birdlime, glass bottles with ingredients for making the preparing liquor, would have enabled me to have given more satisfaction to the gentlemen concerned as well as myself than it is possible for me now to do. Wire, and beads of all sizes and colours that resemble the eyes, I presume should have been sent: as not a soul I believe in Hudson's Bay knows anything of painting either in oil or water colours.

From York in 1772 Graham and Hutchins sent home seventy-two birds, the skin of the inland deer known by its Indian name 'Peshemousish', musquash, rabbit, hare and mice skins, some 'reindeer heads', and

British Library

A hand-coloured version of Edwards' illustration of 'The Bittern from Hudson's Bay'. Drawn from stuffed specimens brought to England in 1745 by James Isham, Chief of York Fort.

a half-grown beaver preserved in a small cask of brandy. It might be assumed that these specimens were accompanied by the volume of Graham's 'Observations' (E.2/9) which we know from internal evidence he wrote during his year as Acting Chief at York, but this in fact was not so. The title-page shows that Graham presented the volume to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company after his retirement; and this must have been well after that event (probably in early 1793), for later addenda to the volume in Graham's own hand contain references to developments and publications of the 1780s. To add to the faint air of mystery the only substantial sections of the volume in Graham's own hand are two folios inserted before the title-page which contain accounts of scientific experiments and observations made by Thomas Hutchins in 1775. It was inconceivable that the specimens so carefully collected should have been sent to England without any descriptive notes, and indeed Graham's official letter written to the Governor and Committee included a significant hint — 'Mr Hutchins has been at great pains as you will see by his account sent home in the packet'. But it was a hint which seemed to lead nowhere, until in August 1969 the 'account' was discovered, or rather identified, in the Archives of the Royal Society — too late for inclusion in anything but the most summary form in



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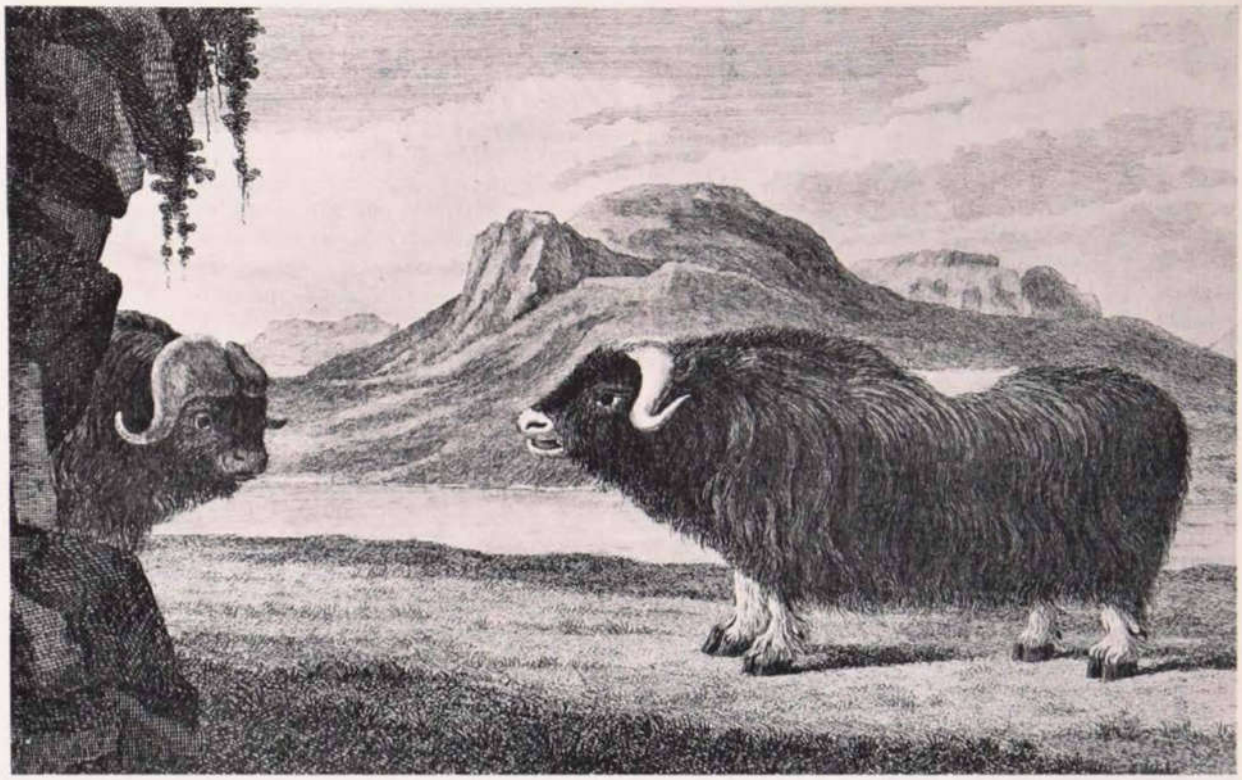
Observations on Hudson's Bay.

Without Feathers. The Brent Geese are numerous all along the Coast never flying inland, feed about high water mark and bring forth their young on Islands near the sea shore, staying with us all the Summer and depart for a warmer Climate about the end of September after a visit of above three months. These are so fishy that they are quite disregarded by both Europeans and Indians contrary to those found in Ireland which are esteemed a delicacy.

Wheave. White Geese. As this Species is unknown in Europe I shall give the best discription I can. The irides are of a beautiful Chocolate colour: edges of the bill black and serated with a button almost white tipped with black: the upper mandible of a flesh colour with a yellowish ridge on the back: the lower mandible pitch inclinable to yellow. All the quill feathers in each wing black except the two smallest which are white on the inner edge of the feather. Greater coverts of the wings of a light blue. The legs, feet and nails are red: the toe nails black. All the rest of the body of a pure white: in the specimen from which this account was taken the tail was white, but sometimes we find black feathers in that part. This Goose weighed five and a half pounds, was thirty two inches long and forty two inches broad. The young Geese in the fall of the year are blue and do not attain a perfect white ness until near one year old. These birds are very numerous, visit us about the middle of May in flocks from four or five to as many thousands: at the heights of the season the shores are quite covered with them: they rise like clouds and make a great noise, after about three weeks stay they journey on to the Northward where they breed, but in what part is unknown. It is the opinion of most of the Gentlemen in this service that they resort to that vast tract of land hitherto undiscovered to the North-west. In the beginning of September they arrive again with their young Brood and set out to the Southward about the 10th of October. They are seen passing by Albany Fort six degrees to the Southward of where this account is written flying in large flocks, very high seldom alighting. This Skelton is of Pennant.

A page from Graham's 'Observations on Hudson's Bay'.
In the lower right corner is an addition in Graham's hand, referring to Pennant's 'Arctic Zoology'.



The Musk Ox from Pennant's 'Arctic Zoology'. The cow is shown full length; the bull by its head only. Pennant owed his illustration of this little-known animal to Samuel Hearne, who sent a complete skin from Churchill in 1783.

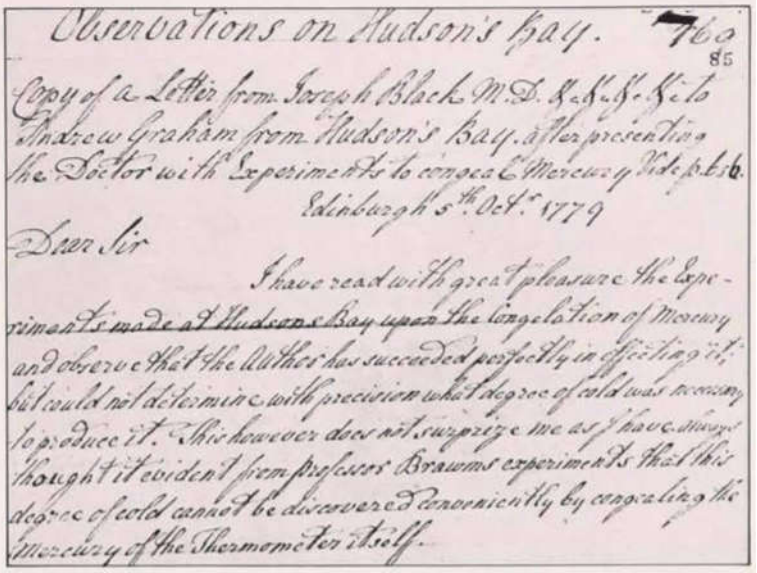
the Record Society volume. It is a long manuscript of 104 pages which appears to be in Hutchins' own hand, and describes all the specimens sent from York in 1772, together with a few birds and many mammals of which no specimens had been obtained. Hutchins' 'Explanatory Notes' at the beginning of the manuscript were dated 28 August 1772, and included the following sentences: 'In pursuance of Mr Graham's advice, I have described the plumage of the birds; but as my knowledge of the variety of colours is very small, consequently the description must be very imperfect. The intent was to preserve an idea of the plumage long after it had faded by keeping or preserving. Lastly the following sheets were not wrote by one who is skilled in zoological affairs, but by a young person seeking after knowledge and improvement . . . .' The conventional expression of scholarly humility need not be taken too seriously; the reference to Graham, and the implication that Hutchins was the junior partner, is more important.

This, then is the first problem confronting the investigator into the authorship of the 'Observations'. Graham's fullest entries on natural history, and Hutchins' first known entries on natural history, are contained in volumes written in the same year, the trading season 1771-2. Who was the originator, and who the copyist? Or is that the wrong question to ask, and should one be looking for a genuine collaboration? A comparison of the ornithological sections of the two manuscripts shows that in practical terms the two men were working together. Their two accounts describe (with one exception) the same specimens of birds, often in identical terms, and always with identical measurements. Sometimes one man has details which the other has not, sometimes they interchange information. Hutchins' section on birds contains seventy-five entries; Graham's the same seventy-five, plus another forty not found in Hutchins. The Hutchins manuscript in particular reveals a conscious sense of scientific research, of an advancement of knowledge; so that in his entry on the Cross-Bill, Hutchins writes that, 'The account I have now to give of this bird varies greatly from that sent by Mr Graham last year [from Severn], but when it is remembered that there are a great resort of natives to York Fort in comparison with what go to Severn, it will be imagined with justice that we are now nigher the truth, having more opportunities of gaining intelligence, or information.' But also noticeable in the Hutchins manuscript is a sense of deference to Graham, on grounds not of rank but of knowledge. Unlike Graham, who by now was an old hand at the business of writing up his natural history notes, Hutchins refers to 'we' observing, measuring, writing.

Much else in the two manuscripts supports the conclusion that Hutchins, however equally he shared in the work of collecting, was for the most part copying Graham when he actually committed his 'Remarks' to paper. A few of their common entries can be traced back to Graham's volumes of the late 1760s. On other pages a chance remark indicates that Graham had written his entry first. So, on the Surf Scoter, Graham notes, 'I am not positive what they feed on'; to this Hutchins adds in his manuscript, 'I have since been informed that this and the two preceding kinds feed upon fish, some small fry having been found in them after death'.

In the long section on mammals the evidence is even firmer. Both men begin with a long description of the beaver which is in substance that set out by Graham in 'Observations' written at Severn between 1767 and 1769. The same pattern is repeated in other entries. Even where it is not, it is often clear that the information came from Graham originally. This applies to mammals such as the Musk Ox, seen in the vicinity of Churchill, where Hutchins had never served. It applies, for example, to Hutchins' entry on the American Elk or Wapiti, which stressed that 'Mr Pennant was particularly desirous of information concerning it, for which reason Mr Graham made diligent enquiries after its nature, and has gathered the following particulars'. There is no need to look for further examples; the Hutchins manuscript is full of implicit acknowledgements that its writer, for all the hard work of measuring, labelling and observing he had done, was following Graham. The partnership was fruitful, honest, and (as far as we can tell) happy.

Except for a possible meeting at York in the summer of 1773 before Hutchins left for a year's leave in England, it is not known whether the two men saw each other again, but their relationship seems to have remained a warm one. Back at Severn for the 1772-3 season Graham pursued the interest in meteorological observations he had developed at York in Hutchins' company, and kept his own set of daily thermometer readings and wind directions. He was now coming to the end of his active career in the Bay, and these years saw him playing an important role in the promotion of the Company's long-debated move into the interior. One of the two men he recommended to the Governor and Committee to lead the inland thrust was Hutchins; in the event the Company chose Graham's other candidate, Samuel Hearne. But Hutchins was finding advancement in other ways. He returned to Hudson Bay in 1774 as Chief at Albany, and carried with him a commission from the Royal Society to keep observations on the dipping-needle on his outward voyage, and once at Albany to set on foot a programme of experiments on congealing mercury by cold. The results of his tests were printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1776, and were also


Observations on Hudson's Bay. 1760
85
Copy of a Letter from Joseph Black M.D. & L.L.D. &c &c to Andrew Graham from Hudson's Bay. after presenting the Doctor with Experiments to congeal Mercury Vide p. 65 b.
Edinburgh 5th Oct.r 1779
Dear Sir
I have read with great pleasure the Experiments made at Hudsons Bay upon the congelation of Mercury and observe that the Author has succeeded perfectly in effecting it, but could not determine with precision what degree of cold was necessary to produce it. This however does not surprize me as I have always thought it evident from Professor Braums experiments that this degree of cold cannot be discovered conveniently by congealing the Mercury of the Thermometer itself.

A section of Joseph Black's letter to Graham in regard to Hutchins' experiments with mercury.

copied by Graham into the volume of his 'Observations' which he had written at York in 1771-2 (E.2/9). Another Graham volume (E.2/11) has reports of further scientific experiments by Hutchins, and a copy of a letter from Joseph Black, professor of medicine and chemistry at Edinburgh, which shows that Graham, who had lived in the city since his retirement in 1775, had approached the scientist about Hutchins' experiments. He forwarded Black's letter to Hutchins, who carried out a new series of tests on mercury at Albany. The results were printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1783 and were acclaimed by scientists, one of whom wrote about the experiments which Hutchins had conducted 'with such brilliant success' that they had 'determined a point upon which philosophers not only were much divided in their opinion, but also entertained, in general, very erroneous sentiments'. In recognition of his work, the Royal Society presented Hutchins with its Copley Medal for that year.

In an indirect way, then, Hutchins owed Graham much. At Albany he continued to collect and describe natural history specimens, and his standard of written comment was now superior to the rather indiscriminate notes amassed earlier by Graham. He remained in touch with Graham. In 1781, for example, he sent him an impressive piece of gypsum from the Bay. The next year Hutchins retired from active service, to be appointed in 1783 to the post of corresponding secretary to the Company in London, a position which he held until his death in July 1790. Graham was also still connected with the Company in a rather more humble capacity, for he was acting as agent for several of the Company's men serving in the

O. With very long ears, of ſix feathers each, yellow and black: irides yellow: back and coverts of wings deep brown, grey, and yellowiſh ruſt-color: primaries barred with duſky and ferruginous: breaſt and belly pale yellow, with ſlender brown ſtrokes, pointing downwards: tail barred with cinereous and duſky; the bars of the middle feathers bound above and below with white: feet feathered to the claws. LENGTH fourteen inches: EXTENT of the *Engliſh* ſpecimens three feet four †. Weight ten ounces.

Obſerved by Mr. *Hutchins* about *Severn* ſettlement in *Hudſon's Bay*, where it lives in the woods, far from the ſea: at night ſallies in ſearch of prey. Approaches the tents of the inhabitants, and is very clamorous. Builds its neſt in trees, and lays four white eggs in *April*. Never migrates. PLACE.

Inhabits *Sweden*, and the northern and ſouthern parts of the *Ruſſian* dominions, and the eaſtern parts of *Sibiria*. Is found as far ſouth as *Aſtrakan*, and even in the hot climate of *Egypt* ‡.

Short-eared Owl, *Br. Zool.* i. N° 66.—*Phil. Tranſ.* lxii. 384.—*Latham*, i. 124. La Chouette ou la grande Chevêche, *De Buffon*, i. 372. tab. xxvii.—*Pl. Enl.* 438. —BL. MUS.—LEV. MUS. 116. SHORT-EARED.

O. With a leſſer head in proportion than the former: bill duſky: irides yellow: head, back, and coverts of the wings, pale

* *Colden's Six Indian Nations*, i. 17.

† If no miſtake is made in Mr. *Hutchins's* MS. the extent is leſs by far than that of the *Engliſh* kind.

‡ *Haſſelquiſt, Itin.* 233.

brown,

References to Mr Hutchins are numerous in Pennant's 'Arctic Zoology'.

Bay, and from 1786 to 1791 was made responsible for paying the Company's servants in the Orkneys. The two men remained therefore in official contact with each other, and certainly Graham's regard for Hutchins was undiminished, for in the transcribing and rewriting of the 'Observations' which occupied much of his time in the 1780s he invariably referred to Hutchins as 'my friend'.

This continuing relationship makes the next and in a sense crucial episode in the story very difficult to understand. During the last period of his life Hutchins came into contact in London with the naturalists Thomas Pennant (who had known Graham for many years) and John Latham, and in his dual role as corresponding secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company and amateur naturalist supplied them with information on Canadian wildlife. The first indication of this contact came in a letter from Hutchins to Pennant in February 1784 in which he answered a list of the naturalist's queries about fish, and in a covering letter added, 'Natural history is my delight, it is chiefly to you I owe the many pleasing hours I have spent in that study, by the great assistance I found in your British Zoology'. There is no mention of Graham, yet as Dr Glover has shown, one of the answers to Pennant's queries came straight from Graham's 'Observations'. Graham wrote of the White Whale, of which he had seen many during his service at Churchill: 'It is unknown where they retire to in winter, or when the gendering season precisely begins; but in June when they first appear I have seen a foetus extracted about six inches long; and at the same time have observed a young one riding about the middle part of the old ones as they sport about, which makes me suspect they become pregnant a second time in summer, or at least they vary as to the season of admitting the males for they are seen to copulate (erect in the water) as late as the month of August.' Hutchins, who had never served at Churchill, replied to Pennant's query on the White Whale with all the appearance of first-hand knowledge: 'Winter haunt unknown. I have known a foetus 6 inch long extracted in June, and at the same time have observed a young one riding on the middle of the back of the old ones as they sport about, which makes one suppose they become pregnant a second time in a summer, at least that they vary in the times of admitting the male, for they are seen to copulate erect in the water so late as the month of August.' Clearly, Hutchins had in front of him a version of Graham's 'Observations', several copies of which the ex-factor had presented to the Company by this time. Pennant had presumably got in touch with Hutchins because he was writing, indeed seeing through the press volume by volume, his *Arctic Zoology*. In the first volume he had acknowledged the help given by his old acquaintance Andrew Graham. In the second volume, published in 1785 also, came a more specific and effusive expression of gratitude to Hutchins:

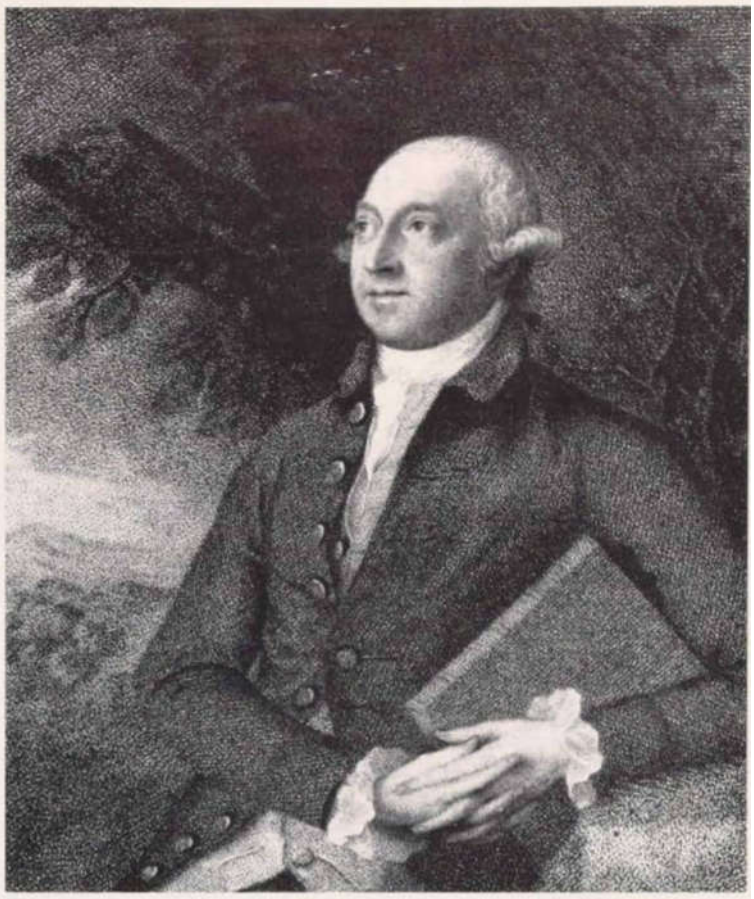
> At the time this sheet was printing, I had the good fortune to meet with Mr. Hutchins, surgeon, a gentleman many years resident in Hudson's Bay; who, with the utmost liberality, communicated to me his MS. observations, in a large folio volume; in every page of which his extensive knowledge appears. The benefit which this work will, from the present page, receive, is here once for all gratefully acknowledged.

In reality, the volume was one of those written by Graham, although it has now disappeared — probably as a result of Pennant being allowed to borrow it from Hudson's Bay House. There is no chance that the 'large folio volume' was a bound version of the genuine Hutchins manuscript of 1772 which is now in the Archives of the Royal Society, for Pennant's references show that it included a description of the Arctic Island Caribou, and the 'White Deer' skin on which this description was based did not reach Graham until he returned to Churchill for his final posting of 1774-5. And that its attribution to Hutchins was no accidental misunderstanding is shown not only by continuing footnote references to Hutchins in Pennant's *Supplement* of 1787 (in effect, the third volume of the *Arctic Zoology*), but by a repetition of the same process in John Latham's *General Synopsis of Birds*. In the third volume, published in 1785, Latham declared himself 'indebted to the observations of Mr. Hutchins, of the Hudson's Bay Company, an intelligent and communicative naturalist'. The many

extracts which follow are again taken from Graham's 'Observations', and this time it is possible to identify the volume specifically as E.2/10 since some of the material is found only in that copy. The acknowledgements by Pennant and Latham were followed by standard works in the next century. One of the rebound volumes of Graham's 'Observations' in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (E.2/13) even has Hutchins' name on the spine. Only one conclusion is possible from all this.

In 1784 Hutchins was using Graham's material to answer questions from Pennant, not a very heinous crime perhaps in an age when literary conventions concerning acknowledgements were slacker than they are today; but by the following year he was allowing, if not encouraging, both Pennant and Latham to assume that the 'Observations' he had permitted them to copy were his own work. Since Pennant at least already knew of Graham's keeping of natural history notes, and had cited them in the first volume of his *Arctic Zoology*, it must have taken a quite specific declaration of authorship by Hutchins to lead the naturalist to acknowledge him on so many occasions in the second and third volumes of the *Zoology*. The volume used by Latham, E.2/10, is one of the three copies of Graham's 'Observations' which has no title-page, no indication of author; moreover, at some time in the 1780s Hutchins had added to it a fourteen-page 'Appendix' which contained his own natural history observations, for it has several references to Albany between 1780 and 1782. There can be no question, then, but that this particular copy of Graham's 'Observations' was at Hudson's Bay House during Hutchins' tenure of office as corresponding secretary between 1783 and 1790. There can also be no doubt at all that the main text of the volume was written by Graham. It is in most respects the same as his signed copy of E.2/9, and like that volume it contains many references to Churchill and Severn, to trading voyages along the west coast to the Bay, to events of the 1750s and 1760s — all of which refer to Graham's career and can in no way be associated with Hutchins.

Hutchins died in 1790, Graham in 1815; so the question naturally arises, why did Graham not challenge the injustice done to him by Hutchins? Here a relevant document is E.2/12, for although most of the volume is a repetition of earlier Graham material, and indeed there is internal evidence that it was mainly written before 1782, other sections refer to events within the period 1782 to 1791. The latest date in the volume, which is in Graham's hand throughout, is 8 February 1791 — long after the appearance of the Pennant and Latham publications, not long after Hutchins' death. Graham is still referring to Hutchins as 'my friend', and sometime in the early 1790s added a note that 'This worthy gentleman died in London in June [sic] 1790'. It would seem incredible that Graham



Thomas Pennant, naturalist, 1726-1798. From a painting of him at the age of fifty, by Gainsborough, 1776.

could write in such terms if he knew of Hutchins' plagiarism, but what evidence there is points to this conclusion. First of all, Graham kept in touch both with naturalists and with his old friends in the Bay after his retirement. Information was sent to him for example, about the French raids in Hudson Bay in 1782, and a copy of William Tomison's journal of 1788-9, both of which he incorporated into a volume of his 'Observations'. He was certainly corresponding with Samuel Hearne, William Tomison and Humphrey Marten during the 1780s. In 1786 Tomison sent him specimens of two humming-birds, and Graham sought an opinion from Dr John Walker, professor of natural history at Edinburgh, about them. In 1789 Hearne wrote to him with a lengthy description of the Musk Ox. As late as 1790 Graham was still receiving news from the Bay (this time about the penetration of Canadian traders behind the Company's settlements at Churchill and elsewhere). The Pennant and Latham volumes, with their incriminating acknowledgements to Hutchins, were published in 1785; and given Graham's continuing interest both in Bay affairs generally and more

specifically in its wildlife, it seems almost outside the realms of possibility that he had not seen, or even heard about, Pennant's volumes. Indeed we know that at some time he had read the *Arctic Zoology*, for his 'Observations' of 1772 (E.2/9) contain later additions in Graham's handwriting referring to it. There is no way of telling when these notes were added by Graham, but the presumption is strong that by the winter of 1792-3 Graham had sent the last remaining volumes of his 'Observations' to the Company in return for a gratuity of ten guineas. Under the agreement the Company purchased *all* Graham's journals and maps still in his possession, and the letter of thanks to the ex-factor acknowledged the receipt of 'three manuscript books of remarks' — probably those volumes now classified as E.2/9, E.2/11 and E.2/12. There is, one must concede, a slim chance that Graham had come across Pennant's *Arctic Zoology* for the first time in 1791 or 1792, and had therefore entered his references to that work in E.2/9 after Hutchins' death in July 1790; but the overwhelming weight of evidence points otherwise. (It is fair to say that Dr Glover reached a different conclusion in the 1969 Record Society volume, p.xviii). Graham's continued friendship with Company servants in the 1780s, some at least of whom shared his own interest in natural history, and his known contact with naturalists and other scholars in Edinburgh, make it difficult to believe that Pennant's work was not brought to his attention.

There is a final riddle about Graham's 'Observations'. The volume E.2/10 which Hutchins seems to have claimed as his own, is heavily annotated in pencil in a manner which suggests that it was being prepared for publication. Almost every page contains pencilled alterations, additions and comments — in two different handwritings (neither of them Graham's). Many of the alterations are stylistic; but the natural history sections contain the Linnean names for Graham's birds, and references both to Pennant's *Arctic Zoology* and to Latham's *General Synopsis of Birds*. These additions may in fact be the work of Latham, who had this particular volume in his possession when completing the third volume of the *Synopsis*. In other places there are suggestions of censorship. For example, Graham's 'Remarks on the Northern Trade' on page 192 are accompanied by the comment: 'This article should be left out. It has no reference except to the trade of the Company, may therefore injure them, and cannot benefit others.' There would be a good case for the publication of Graham's 'Observations' in the late 1780s or thereabouts, by which time the Company had adopted under the governorship of Samuel Wegg a more enlightened attitude towards publicity of its activities. Samuel Hearne was being allowed to proceed with the publication of his journal of northern exploration, and the cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith and the geographer Alexander Dalrymple obtained access to the Company's records. And in 1790 Edward Umfreville published a vituperative attack on the Company, his old employers, in his book *The Present State of Hudson's Bay* (in which several of the factual sections were taken straight from Graham). There was, then, a strong argument for publishing the 'Observations', with some quiet elimination of detail of commercial importance, as a demonstration of the contribution the Company was making to scholars' knowledge of the Canadian North. Why the apparent intention to publish was not followed through; who was the initiating force; whether Graham or Hutchins would have appeared as author, are all matters of speculation. If Hutchins was organizing the project, then his death in 1790 may have put an end to it; alternatively, the knowledge at about the same time that Hearne was writing a book on his experiences in the Company's employ which also contained much comment on natural history could have had something to do with the failure to proceed further. Like much else about the 'Observations' the affair is clouded in obscurity.

Through the maze of evidence sketched above one fact emerges clearly and firmly. Thomas Hutchins, with a scientific reputation in his own right, possessing a comfortable and responsible post at the Company's headquarters in London, gave way in 1784 or 1785 to the temptation to appropriate a volume of Graham's 'Observations' and declare it his own. This deception led both Pennant and Latham to attribute numerous descriptive passages to Hutchins, and to ignore their real author, Graham. Hutchins was regarded in the years before his death as the leading authority on the natural history of Hudson Bay; and in the nineteenth century a small race of the Canada Goose was named after him; Hutchins' Goose, *Branta canadensis hutchinsii* (Richardson). To say that the true author, Andrew Graham, died neglected and forlorn as a result of Hutchins' action would be to over-dramatize and indeed perhaps misrepresent the situation. He outlived Hutchins by twenty-five years, and if his will can be trusted died comparatively well off. By 1792 the passion for natural history, and for recording his 'Observations' in volume after volume, seemed to have spent itself, and the sale of his last journals to the Company that winter was clearly a significant step. At least in the custody of the Company his 'Observations' were now to be faithfully preserved, whereas the many wildlife specimens, native artifacts and mineral samples which he presented to museums in both England and Scotland have all disappeared. On the question of Hutchins' appropriation of his work Graham apparently remained silent. Whether he did not know, or simply did not care, is impossible to tell; but certainly in the learned world of natural history he never attained the fame which was rightly his. ◆

The Criddles of Aweme

In August 1882 Percy Criddle of London arrived in Manitoba with his wife Alice; his companion of many years, Elise Vane; and his nine children. Over a period of nearly 35 years he kept a lively and detailed record of their lives on the homestead at Aweme, some 21 miles south-east of Brandon.

THE BEAVER presents a section of his writings, by permission of Alma Criddle, his granddaughter, who prepared extracts from his diaries for publication in her book 'Criddle-de-diddle-ensis'.

This article opens with Percy's arrival on the site of the future homestead.

'The palatial residence yclept st Albans.' Alice Criddle stands in the doorway.

'I ARRIVED at my camping ground — a bit of rising prairie on the open near a wood, in sight of a shanty some half mile off — at three o'clock, and sent back the driver with horses only to assist the other wagon, oxen and family. Found a likely place about 400 yards from pitch for water, and set to work digging — had thirty gallons of water in well two feet, six inches deep, in an hour — much pleased. Bailed out once or twice, and the water became fairly clear — well filled rapidly. Got some dry wood together — made a fire — fetched water to pitch through a perfect blaze of mosquitoes — thousands of them that attacked me fiercely and almost forced me to run from my pails.

'Cut and trimmed a grass site for the tent — and — looked out for family — nearly dark — seven o'clock. Began to get alarmed, piled up my fire, and at 7.30 started to look for them — blowing my whistle every half minute — sighted them suddenly at about eight o'clock and was greatly relieved. Horses drawing wagon — Alice leading oxen — dragging them, I believe, behind — everyone dead beat. Got some tea and grub at about 9.30 and made preparations for night — got tents up — watered and tended cattle generally and turned in at midnight, I and driver in small tent — Family in big one — jolly hard on grass with a blanket, and doubts as to bears, etc., a First

By 1890, when this sketch of St Albans was done by Canon Thomas J. Cooper, an addition had been made to the original log house.

Night on Prairie of course being an unnecessarily anxious one. However, the air was warm and pure, the ground clean, our supper ditto, and so — altogether superior to Brandon with its dirty, loathsome rooms.'

The next day, Percy shot three ducks in the pond north of the tent — which doubtless meant fresh roast duck, cooked over the open fire, since the stove was still at Currie's Landing. He also cut his first tree down: 'a small one, but it took a deuce of a lot of hacking. Doubtless with practice I shall learn to use the axe properly — 'tis certainly a splendid, well-balanced instrument. Tomorrow a perfect host of matters will have to be seen to, and possibly the present chaos may begin to give way to order — Nous verrons.'

At this point, Percy's idea of keeping a day-to-day record of events took second place to the multitude of tasks to be accomplished in establishing his homestead — and preparing for winter. Five months later he lamented: 'Alas for human schemes and plans — my Manitoba diary which I had made up my mind to keep with exactitude and regularity fell a prey to more pressing matters, or laziness. And so from August 25th up to now (a most momentous and perhaps interesting period of my earthly pilgrimage) — the daily record is lost. However, as I have at the present nothing to do — but sit and read or write — or rather — as I am incapable of doing any physical work, owing to my crippled and weak state from a severe attack of rheumatic fever — why, I will endeavour to sketch out and produce a resumé of what has happened during the missing five months — as amply, with as much detail as my poor memory will permit.'

'To make a start without further preamble, I will record the fact that a few nights' uninterrupted repose in camp dispelled all fear of bears and other dangers which had been forcibly presented to my mind. For though my revolver and gun lay ever handy I soon forgot to look after them ere retiring. A few days got our encampment into some sort of order, though the astounding manner in which the days slipped away was something marvellous. We had to make fires every afternoon to keep off the mosquitoes, which from two hours before sundown till dark were simply terrible in their attentions. The oxen suffered much from these mosquitoes, but soon made themselves quite at home with us, and slept nightly near the tents in the smoke from the fires. The weather for weeks after our arrival was simply superb. Beyond a number of heavy thunder storms (always at night) which somewhat cooled the parched ground — we never had a drop of rain — and scarcely a cloud. The days from August 25th to September 25th were warm and delightful — the nights cool and refreshing — such weather was never seen in England — and had it not been for the mosquitoes we should have lived in the nearest approach to Elysium one can well imagine. . . .'

'On or about September 10th, I set to work to dig a new well eighty yards from home as the first one was a dreadful drag to fetch water from, especially late of an afternoon, through clouds of mosquitoes. The place selected was just at the corner of the wood near us and nicely shaded. As before, I soon got to water and ere many days had passed, the new well produced water as pure, cool and crystal as man might desire.'

'Thoughts concerning the pitch of the future house now began to predominate and a survey of our estate became necessary, as up to date I had found but one post. Surveying, when one doesn't understand the art, is an arduous affair — especially when one's staff consists of a couple of small boys who misunderstand every signal given them, and insist on either sticking flag poles in wrong places — or when they do so correctly — so insecurely that the precious things tumble down the moment they are left to themselves. Among other obstacles to my success I found some fine thick copses — a morass — and a pond. However, my northern boundary (most of it at least) got flagged off in course of time. My south-west post was discovered and of course the direction of the other lines approximately ascertained. When the deuce though, I shall really know exactly what is mine and what isn't — I dare not venture to prophesy, but the matter will have to be tackled sooner or later — probably later (it will probably be next summer). The result of my exploits was that I found I was the owner of part of a very respectable hill to north of camp, the possession of which I had much coveted. I also found that I owned rather more wood and less clear prairie than I desired. Now, however, when I know pretty well all about my estate, I am more than content and thank Providence who guided me in making a claim for I knew not what (though I thought I did), which will turn out I believe excellent. The wood is surrounded on two sides at least by long, rich swamp grass fitted for feeding cattle all through the year — barring the very severe weather and possibly even then. The wood itself supplies us with fuel — will prove a shelter to cattle — a cool place for the children to ramble in in summer — and being full of wild gooseberries, raspberries, nuts, strawberries and hosts of other plants, will afford an endless source of fruit and pleasure. In addition to all this, I have been able to cut upwards of 150 capital logs which I have either used in housebuilding, or have at hand for any purpose I may choose to turn them to, and there are plenty more if required.'

The well in the shade of an oak tree.

Norman Criddle, right, stacks sheaves for threshing, 1897.

For three weeks, Percy was steadily employed cutting and hauling out logs — and then found to his dismay that the number was still insufficient, necessitating many more trips to the tamarack and spruce woods for more logs. Working hours were somewhat limited, for he and his neighbour (Mr F. Lawrence) 'could only work in the woods from 8.00 a.m. till 3.00 p.m. on account of mosquitoes. During the other hours, I matured plans, staked out my ground — a difficult operation — and made my cellar. This last — 9 feet by 6.3 by 5.6 feet — was a horrid job. The digging was nothing — but just as I had finished it — in fell one of the sides to my dismay, as I stood near the edge putting on my coat and admiring my handiwork ere going to dinner. Nil Desperandum — I set to work that same afternoon and made a wooden frame or casing to sink in, and hold the precious thing up. Next morning I brought Alice and other aids from the tents to help me drop said frame into its place. Alas — when we got there — two of the other sides had followed the bad example of the first — and my hole of which I had been so proud but 20 hours before was a horrid ruin. It took us three days, sinking that frame and getting it ship-shape — and the quantities of earth we had to scoop away — mostly by hand — were prodigious. But for Alice who worked on her knees, grubbing the stuff out from behind the boards — I should have given the thing up I verily believe — and let the cellar go to the D——. I'm preciously glad now though that I didn't — for at this present 'tis a most convenient larder — full of shelves — perfectly dry — and so well strutted up that 'twill bear any pressure from without. It has but one defect — like most of my productions — it isn't handsome. Being underground however, and out of sight, that doesn't much matter.'

The shanty once occupied by Mr F. Lawrence, as it was in 1915. Percy Criddle is in the foreground.

'Having got thus far — and the site being at least 500 yards from our camp — the next thing to be done was to move the tents up hill so as to save walking backwards and forwards three or four times a day — to say nothing of my having to wait for the Forces from time to time, whenever I wanted an extra hand — said Forces having to be summoned by signal (pocket handkerchief and pole) — and constantly either turning up in wrong numbers — or failing to turn up at all — thereby tending to much loss of time and a deal of bad language. Well, the moving took a day and a half — what with tent-striking and refixing — packing — loading — unloading, etc., etc. — and our old camp was soon a desolate spot — deserted and alone.'

The relocation of the tents and the moving of all family stores and possessions led to a discovery that warranted several pages in the diary:

'Our migration leads me to mention one very important factor in our Manitoba existence and I must immediately bring the history thereof into the foreground. 'Tis when taken singly but a small and insignificant creature, but when joined to myriads of brothers, sisters, husbands, wives, grandmothers and children — a most serious and all-devouring monster. I refer to the MOUSE. This little pest simply pervades the prairie in thousands — and destroys everything — unlike his English relative. He can climb perpendicular walls — and I believe get along ceilings if not too, too even. No place is safe from him — and for the construction of his nest, wherein lies his greatest destructiveness, he is not content with gnawing up and spoiling one garment — but loving variety — he'll take a bit of fur here — and some wool there — the heel of a sock — or the seat of a pair of breeches. Braid he dearly loves, and whenever he can get at anything especially prized or new — then he is indeed in his element. We were some time ere we discovered what a terrible enemy we had among us — and treated him as a pretty and harmless little friend whenever he showed himself to us — but when we did find him out, a holy war was at once declared. Cats however, exist not in Manitoba, while traps — ah — well — the foe apparently is up to all those sorts of things. A big stick hunt among all the boxes and stores (of which he avails himself very freely with a view to stocking his larder) is our only way of paying him out, and even then — he is so nimble, so clever, that he often gets off scot free. When we moved up the hill there was of course a general rout out, and something like 20 of his race paid the debt of nature. But alas — our victory was saddened by the awful discoveries of ruined clothes and sacked stores that came to light. And though we exterminated him for the time being, he has brought fresh legions to attack us in our new abode, and is as persevering in destructiveness as ever — while his cheek is unsurpassable — even in America. Sometimes, however, this last little trait of his leads him into trouble, as for instance when he at one time took to filling my right top boot with bits of bread (right alongside my bed) every night. For, lying in wait for him, I suddenly stopped his exit — and he died. On another occasion I found him making a store of food in an empty treacle barrel — his entrance being through the top hole. I watched him go in — made a dash at the hole — and he was mine. Were I, however, to go on recounting my various mousing adventures, my diary would soon be full — so I leave the subject, merely in conclusion recording my deep-seated and never-to-be-eradicated hatred and revengeful feeling for the entire mouse race.'

With the cellar dug and secured and the family tents and possessions moved nearer to the scene of housebuilding, an incident occurred that diverted Percy briefly from his labours. After a full day of work cutting logs for the house in the tamarack wood, Percy and Mr Lawrence returned to the camp looking forward to a night's rest.

'When I got home that night I found a surprise — Albert Woolhead, my old neighbour, friend and foe — when a boy in England, had arrived in course of the day from Brandon with his wife, two children (infants), coachman and conveyance and two horses, to see me. I had previously received a letter from him telling of his arrival in Canada — but had not expected to see him yet awhile. However — here he was — and what was more — there was no chance of him going away again that night unless he wanted to be lost on the prairie. Well — what the deuce we were to do with his lot was the next question, but of course, we managed to arrange all satisfactorily, or at least apparently so, in course of time. The first thing to be done however, was to have tea — I and Mr. L. being especially hungry while the Brandon contingent was

also ready to do fairly well considering that they had finished a pretty substantial repast just half an hour previous. When tea was over — it now being dark — Woolhead and the coachman accompanied Mr. L. to his shanty to get some hay for the horses as I hadn't any, and the coachman was afraid to tether them in the meadow below. I rather funked letting them go without me lest they should miss their way back, without Mr. L.'s guidance. However, alone they went and I lighted a beacon to direct them. Presently the time for their return arrived but they didn't — a long wait — excitement began to rise — Mrs. W. became anxious. Wives are always so when in company if their husbands are a little late home. Still no Mr. W. and coachman — then I began to Halloo — whereby I became aware that we possessed a very fine double echo from the wood — no answer — I hallooed louder and continued so doing for half an hour or so till nearly tired, when at last a faint response was audible. Then I distinctly heard them coming — and the suspense of Mrs. W. was over. They told me afterwards that they had heard me quite plainly from Lawrences, but had stopped there some time to chat. Confound them! Now came bedtime. Mrs. W. and the infants shared the big tent with Alice. The horses were secured (?) in the partly finished shanty (the front still open and neither side yet fully planked up to roof). While W.[oolhead], the C.[oachman] and I retired to the house cellar which we covered with planks as best we could — and which we found preciously airy ere the night came to an end, for there was a very sharp frost. Of course W. and I talked over old times and smoked and caroused (on bread and cheese) till about midnight ere snuggling into our wraps for a snooze. Meanwhile the C. was climbing up the ladder every ten minutes, shoving our roof aside, and going to see whether his accursed horses were safe. However, at last we got him safely stowed away and snoring. We didn't sleep though — for one of the horses being a crib-biter was making no end of a row, while engaged devouring some choice bit of my beloved shanty. Confound him! Well — I suppose HE, like his master, slept at last, we following his example. Hardly had we done so, however, ere Mrs. W.'s voice was heard from above informing us that those horses were making such a noise that nobody could sleep in the tent. General turn-out — much internal swearing on my part — I didn't like to do it openly — wouldn't have been polite — all of us half frozen. Coachman tied his beasts up more securely — I fancy he fastened their heads by a nail in the roof which was to prevent their moving — at least, so I understood him — but I wasn't paying much attention to his remarks just then, as I was engaged calculating what the cost of shooting both animals and kicking their driver would be. Then we retired once more to our subterranean bedroom to repose for — about 20 minutes — when I became aware of a sound of kicking and smashing of boards

The author in 1917, after thirty-five years on the homestead. He died at home the following spring. St Albans still stands, but has suffered vandalism in recent years.

near at hand. Once more I got up that infernal ladder — and — both the blessed quadrupeds were loose — outside the shanty — not loose exactly for they had their legs ingeniously entangled in the wheels of the vehicle which had been drawn up across the front of the place to keep them in, in safety. Besides which, there was the board or beam to which they had been tied hanging to them by the reins. We managed to get the brutes out of their predicament without damage and proceeded to try fresh devices for keeping them quiet. But what with further crib-biting and sundry fresh alarms (groundless) they kept us all lively through the night. When morning arrived W. started off to shoot — presently returning with nothing — while I — stayed at home and bagged a prairie chick that had the foolhardiness to walk bang up to my gun. Such is luck. Presently came breakfast and then our visitors departed for Brandon once more, leaving me two hours' work to clean out the "stable", repair damages, and remove all the boards which had been placed over the cellar and round the shanty to protect us in the one case, and the horses in the other, from the wind. I began these operations ere the company left but though Mr. Coachman had had jolly good board, and lodging without charge (quite contrary to Canadian custom) and was standing close to me doing nothing — he never offered to lift a hand to help me. May he come this way again! — and — if I so much as let him have a drink of water — why, I'm a Dutchman, that's all.' ◆

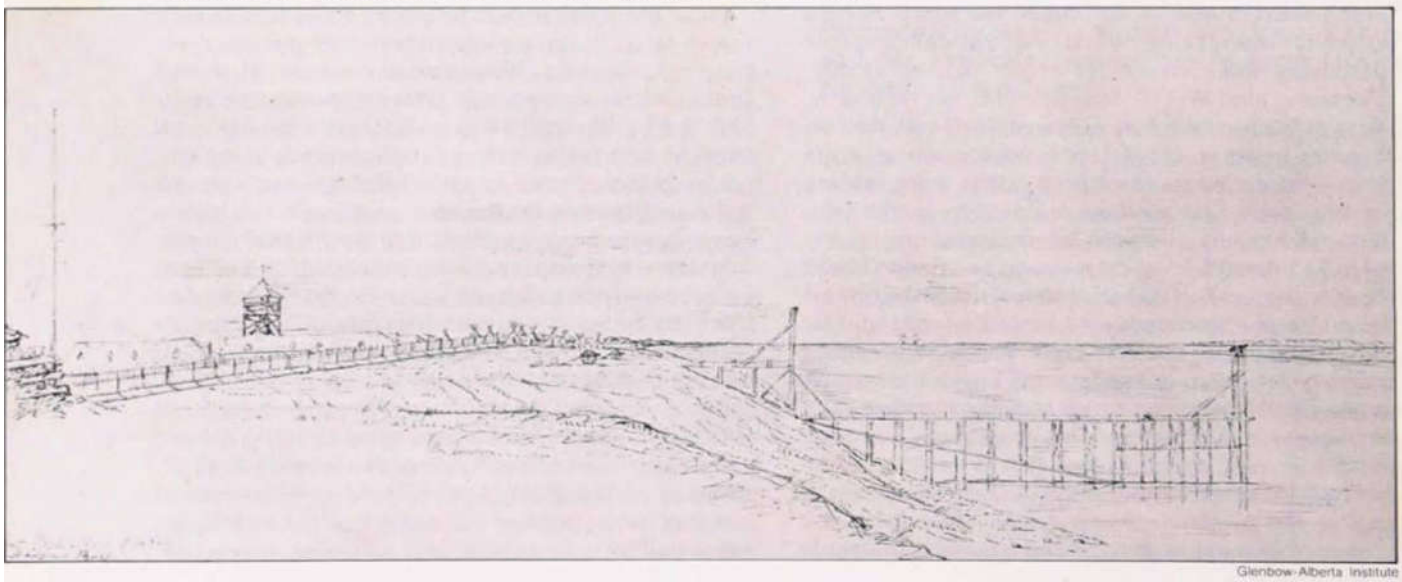
Mr H. F. J. Jackson, at the age of 24, prior to his departure from London for Canada aboard the sailing ship 'Pearl'. During the voyage he recorded a yarn told by the Steward, John Molden. Mr Jackson's account and his photograph were provided by Patrick D. Baird whose wife is a great-granddaughter of the author.

THE STEWARD'S YARN

'I WAS 6 YEARS in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, trading to the Company's forts for furs, and it was while I was steward on board the *Prince Rupert* that the following adventure took place. It was in the month of December 1833 that the ship arrived at Fort Churchill, in the bay. The fort is established for the purpose of trading with the Esquimaux and has accommodation for a few persons stationed there by the Company. The ship was embedded in the ice & could not proceed upon her voyage, it therefore became a question how the crew were to dispose of themselves during the winter. The ship's provisions were inadequate & the fort offered no resource. So it was agreed that all who were willing to go to Fort York should be furnished with provisions for 13 days, the time given for reaching the fort which was distant 170 miles, and had ample accommodation for 100 men, with a governor, surgeon etc. Well, myself and the first mate volunteered & we were joined by 14 of the crew, leaving the Captain & 5 hands at Fort Churchill with the ship. We divided ourselves into parties of two and three according to the number of sleighs which we provided ourselves with for the journey. I had upon my sleigh two young lads as the others seemed but little anxious to take charge of them, they being so young, but it turned out that at the close of our dangers we were perhaps the least exhausted of the whole.

'Well, we proceeded across the snow taking by turns to draw the sleighs, with two Indians for guides. We had some guns and ammunition with us. The country

Fort York as it appeared in August 1848. From a drawing by George E. Finlay.



Glenbow-Alberta Institute

was thickly wooded in parts and we had but little chance of killing any game. We managed to shoot a white fox & a brace of partridges. The guns were soon abandoned as we began to feel weakened by the cold and fatigue of marching. After walking in the daytime we converted our sleighs into sleeping tents by stretching some canvas over them while we slept. We had proceeded thus for 6 or 7 days when many began to complain of weakness & a desire to sleep. We encouraged each other to resist the sensation as we knew the consequences, but one man overcome with cold and lassitude stopped short at the outskirts of a wood and said that he could go no further & begged us to leave him. Well, we could not consent, at first, and proposed to carry him by turns, but we were but little fit for the task, and he told us not to mind, that he wished to die. So we all came round him and bid him good bye. We laid him on the snow & covered him with a piece of canvas & proceeded on our way, not without some desponding feelings at the [sight] that we had just seen. We now pushed forward & after 13 days arrived at the border of the river at the opposite bank of which was the fort to which we were bound. What was our consternation on seeing the river but partially frozen, the stream running rapidly in the middle & no possible means of crossing.

'Well, we turned in to the tent of an Indian who shared among us all the provisions he possessed. They consisted of a couple of hundred partridges & a barrel of blubber. We economised the provisions as long as we were able and sustaining ourselves with the bark of gentian (?) tree, but we had soon exhausted our little stock and still no appearance of the river finally freezing. We felt now that we were destitute of resources, hunger pressed upon us, we began to lose all hope. Thirty days had elapsed since we set out & all hope was abandoning us.

'In this state of desperation it was not to be wondered at that all feelings of humanity should forsake us. The first mate proposed in secret to me to take the life of one of the boys. He said that he was young & his life was not so much consequence as that of grown men. Well I could not consent to it, the lads were under my charge. I shuddered at the idea of seeing one of them murdered before my eyes. Damn you — I said, my blood rose at the horrid idea.'

At this point the Steward broke off his yarn and continued it in the evening. A separate entry in the Jackson diary reads:

'Steward's yarn in the evening . . . Went over the snow in sleighs from Ft Churchill to Ft York 170 miles. Set out Dec. 6 1833 and were out till Jan 28th . . . 16 of them. 21 days in the tent of an Indian, subsisting upon 200 partridges & some seal blubber with the bark of a tree . . . river not frozen . . . cast lots, deliverance.'

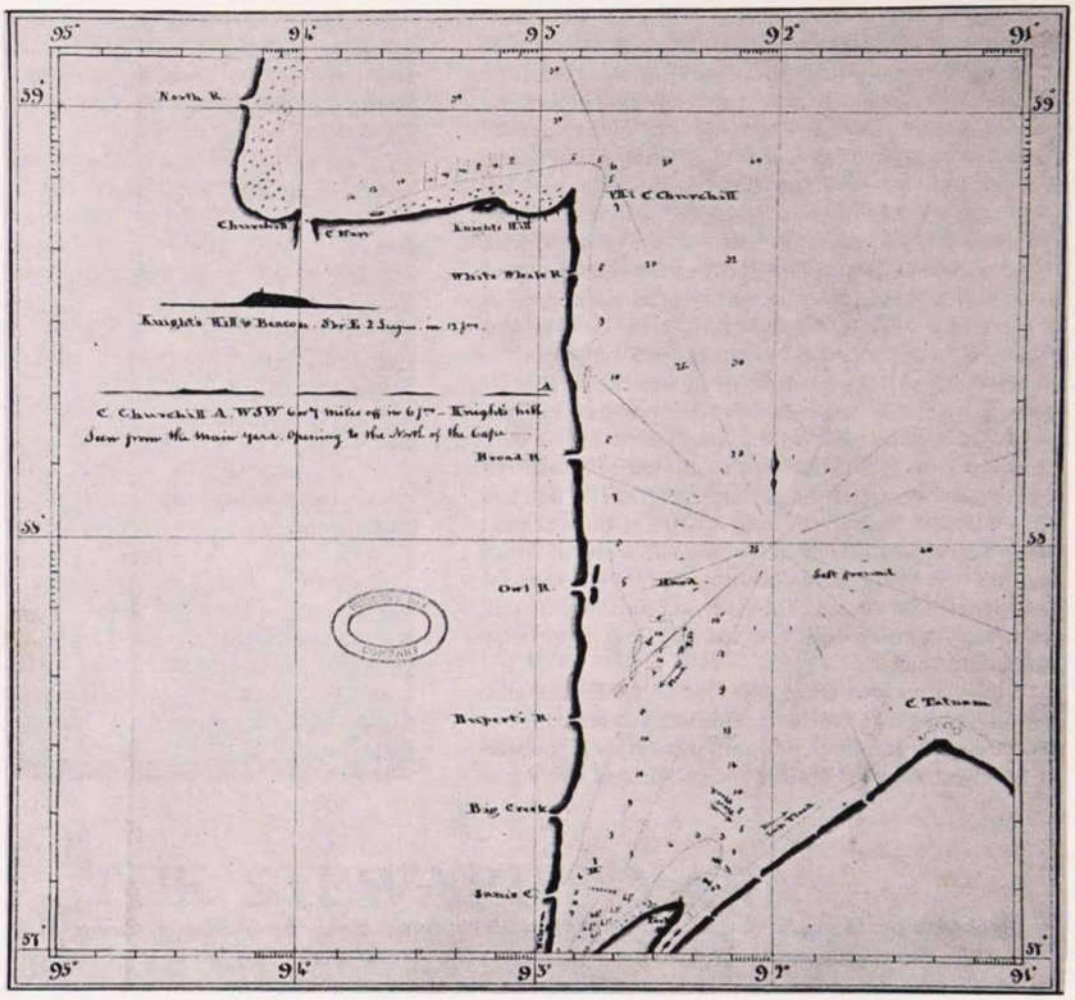
Recorded by Henry F. J. Jackson in 1844, with comment below by Shirlee A. Smith, H B C Archivist. Mrs Smith compares the Steward's yarn with the record of the episode in the Company archives.

BEFORE THE ADVENT of daily newspapers and radio, yarning was an art form. Every village had its retired sea captain, old soldier, or resident adventurer who yarned away to receptive audiences about other continents. A good yarn required certain ingredients and the one related by the Steward had the right measure: Indians, trading posts, constant danger, near starvation, and high moral overtones as the hero intervenes to prevent an act of cannibalism. The Steward was a raconteur of first rank and would be assured of an evening audience. He broke off his story just when cannibalism was a possibility.

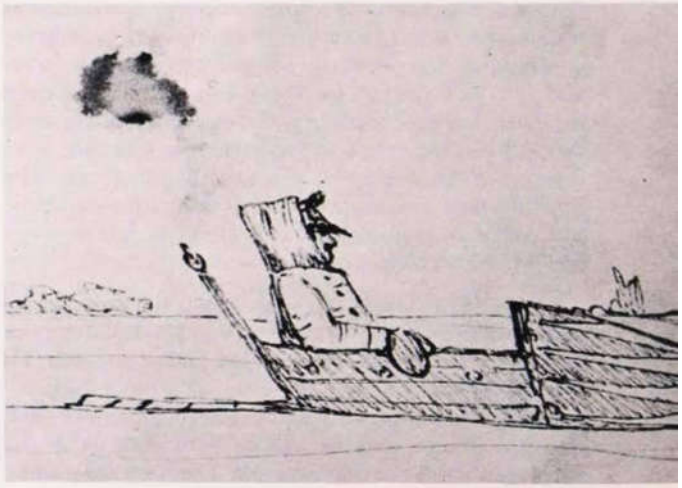
Mr H. F. J. Jackson, who wrote the yarn in his diary, was recording oral history. Unfortunately, the reader is left wondering about the fate of the men. To determine the outcome, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives were consulted and from documents there it was possible to enlarge on the Steward's yarn and correct some of the inaccuracies. The Steward's name was John Molden (also spelt Malden) who served on the Hudson's Bay Company ship *Prince Rupert* from 1833 to 1838. The ship, commanded by Benjamin Bell, arrived at York Factory from London in 1833 to unload supplies for the trading posts and take on a cargo of furs. Heavy ice conditions in the Bay prevented the ship from arriving until 6 September, about three weeks later than the usual time. On the return voyage she was beset by ice, and on 8 October contact was made with the *Prince of Wales* homeward bound from the Company trading post at Moose Factory at the Bottom of the Bay. A council was held on board the *Prince Rupert* and because of the lateness of the season both captains decided to winter on the Bay. Six days later the ships parted company; the *Prince Rupert* sailed to Churchill and the *Prince of Wales* wintered on Charlton Island.

Robert Harding, in charge of Churchill, was 'much surprised' when he heard of the ship's arrival on 17

A map of the coastline between Churchill and York Fort 'by T. Thompson, Augt. 9th. 1820.' The cook died at Owl River. The survivors reached the north bank of the open Nelson River and were kept alive by Ometchuk until help arrived.



October with her 29 crew members, two apprentices, and 19 passengers. There was not sufficient food nor accommodation for 50 extra people at Churchill and it was a worrisome time for the officers and men. A safe berth had to be found for the ship, the food supplies removed, and preparations hurriedly made to send some of the people to York Factory by boat before freeze-up. At first none of the passengers or seamen would volunteer to go to York, saying that they would rather starve at Churchill. Most of the passengers were retiring HBC servants returning home after serving their first contract. They were probably disgruntled and frustrated and neither they nor the seamen would relish a trip in a small boat at that time of year. Finally, after several altercations, four sailors and six passengers left for York on 21 October in a boat manned by John Cox. The group had provisions for



ten days and were provided with guns and ammunition. They arrived at York on 11 November.

Meanwhile, the remaining crew members and passengers were unloading the ship's supplies, fishing and hunting for food, and erecting tents for living quarters. Two female passengers, Sarah Munro and Margaret McRobie, spent part of their time looking after the cattle. When the preparations for winter were completed 13 sailors volunteered to go to York Factory with First Officer Edward Biales, John Inkster, and two Cree Indians for guides. The Steward, John Molden; Gustavus Exström, the cook; and the two apprentices, William Mannock and William Covell, were part of the group. They left in high spirits on 11 December with provisions for nine days. The winter was mild and when the men arrived at the Nelson River they found that it was open with a current of running water in the centre. Crossing was impossible. The date of their arrival is not known but, allowing for their inexperience in winter travelling, it was probably around 23 December. Finally on 11 January two Indians, probably the guides, managed 'at great hazard' to cross the river in a small canoe to reach York Factory. Where or how they managed to get a canoe was not recorded.

The next day Robert Miles, Chief Trader in charge of York, sent a carriole and a sled with 'Provisions shoes socks etc etc' under the charge of an Indian who, after a three-day journey upriver, found a place to cross. Mr Biales arrived at the post on 15 January and the rest of the men arrived two days later. They were all in great misery and eight of them were suffering from severe frostbite. Gustavus Exström, the cook, had been left to die at Owl River. He could travel no further and the men did not have the strength to carry him. This act may seem inhuman but no doubt the heavy snow created by the mild winter made walking difficult and the extra burden could not be managed.

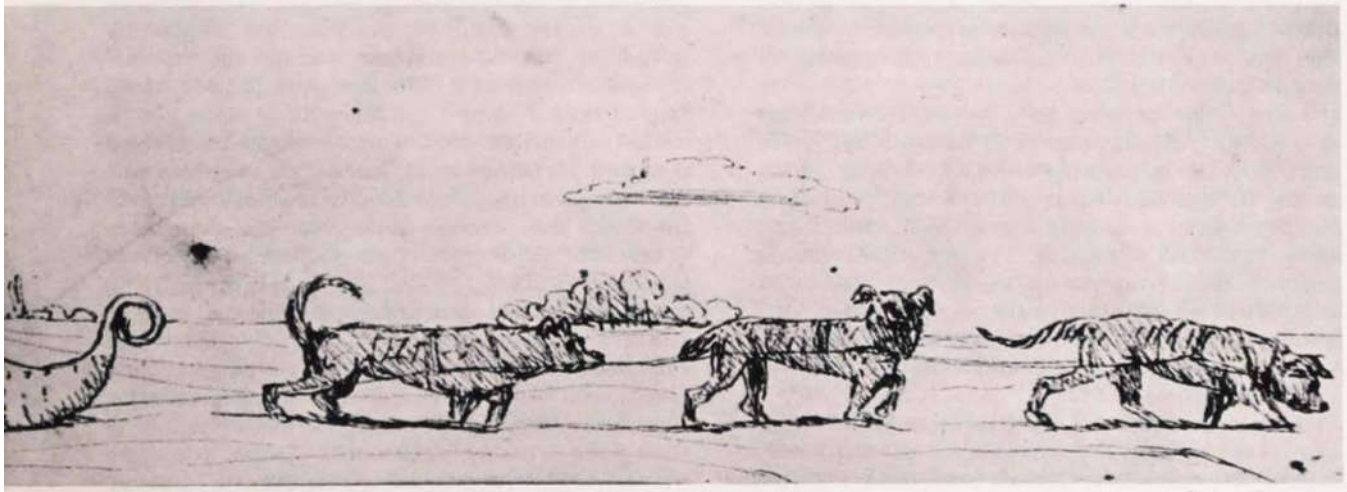
Robert Miles, who was accustomed to winter travel and privation, was shocked at what had happened. However, all the men would have perished but for Ometchuk, an Indian. He was wintering on the north bank of the Nelson River and shared with the seamen his 'Partridges [ptarmigan] Blubber & Dogs.' Everything was eaten. Miles stated that his 'humanity, hospitality & kindness . . . cannot be surpassed'. The provisions he had extended were replaced and Miles expressed the hope that the London Committee would reward him.

It was an uncomfortable winter at York Factory. A debilitating epidemic seemingly caught from the seamen resulted in all the officers and many of the tradesmen being unable to work. Finally, Miles prevailed upon Captain Bell at Churchill to send the ship's surgeon, Edmund Smith, to York, and a carriole was sent to fetch him. Gradually, conditions improved.

To avoid break-up, Edward Biales, David Allen, John Molden and the two apprentices left York on foot on 26 March and arrived at Churchill on 4 April. After drying out the furs that could be salvaged and taking on supplies the crew weighed anchor and set sail for London from York Factory on 31 August arriving safely on 21 October.

The oral history as recorded by Jackson is not as precise as the records in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives nor is it as detailed. It is, however, a personalized account of a terrifying experience and probably one of the few yarns that needed no embellishment. Molden's story obviously captivated Jackson. One also wonders if somewhere in Manitoba the descendants of Ometchuk tell the story of their ancestor who, many years ago, saved more than a dozen people from starvation. ◆

A carriole and a sled carrying provisions were sent out from York to assist the survivors. Sketch of a dog carriole is by G. E. Finlay.



Glenbow-Alberta Institute

Washington Frank Lynn: Artist and Journalist

By Virginia Berry

Dr Berry, a vice-president of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, is presently conducting research into the history of visual arts in Manitoba, 17th century to 1920. Her research on the artist W. Frank Lynn was made possible by a grant from the Canada Council.

All paintings are by W. Frank Lynn.

And so we floated down the golden tide, golden with the rich sunset hues of this placid Sabbath evening, till the neat-shuttered French-looking buildings of the Catholic Institute appeared in sight, and, then, after turning one more bend, we drifted into the mouth of the Assiniboine and had our first view of the stone turrets and log ramparts of Fort Garry, the terminus of the voyage.

THIS DESCRIPTION was written by Washington Frank Lynn in a letter to the Toronto *Globe*. It was August 1872, and he had just arrived by flat-boat from Breckenridge, Minnesota. An Englishman with an eye for the picturesque, a taste for wandering, and a desire to promote British emigration to Canada, he was describing his journey to Manitoba and impressions of the new province, as promotional information for prospective settlers.

Lynn was a competent artist as well as a writer, and it is for his paintings that he is known today. Soon after arriving he painted 'The Dakota Boat', 'Flat-boats on the Red River', 'The Forks', and 'Two Families'. His paintings furnish an inimitable picture of the Red River country on the verge of great change and expansion from the age of flat-boat, Red River cart, Hudson's Bay fort and struggling village, to a booming western city. Now we can complement them with the wealth of observations which he wrote at the same time.

What sort of man was this artist-journalist when he arrived at Fort Garry? The outlines of his early life are sketchy. He was born in Chelsea, probably in 1836, the second son of William Bewicke Lynn, a medical officer of the Fifth Foot Regiment, who had served in the Napoleonic Wars (1809-14) and in Canada (1814-15), retiring in 1817 to practise medicine in Westminster. Young Lynn's education evidently provided a broad informational background, the ability to write fluently, and some familiarity with agricultural practices. His special training, however, was in the field of art where he had obtained enough advanced training to apply to the Royal Academy Schools, thus indicating a desire to become a professional artist. Admission was a rigorous test, since more than half the applicants were usually rejected. In June 1859 Frank Lynn was admitted as 'probationer'. Eighteen months later he advanced to the rank of 'student' — not a distinguished performance but apparently adequate. Few students remained for the nominal seven to ten-year term of the studentship; Lynn stayed for less than a year.

His career then took what seems an unexpected direction. He turned up in Canada, where he became a correspondent covering the civil war in the United States for the Toronto *Globe*. Was this the chance outcome of a visit to the country where his father was stationed in 1814-15? Did he hope eventually to combine art and journalism as did the popular illustrators for the *London Graphic* and *Illustrated London News?* At any rate he apparently spent about four years as a reporter, living much of the time in the field, and travelling over wide portions of the United States from the south to the north-western outpost of St Paul, Minnesota. He did not, however,

Photograph by Ernest P. Mayer

'The Dakota Boat'. Fort Garry at sunset as Lynn saw it on his arrival in 1872. From the collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery.

become pro-American, but formed a strong bond with Canada.

Sometime after the war Lynn returned to England and took a job with the Canadian Land and Immigration Company in London. In 1868 he became one of the original members of the Royal Colonial Institute, 'a number of gentlemen interested in Colonial affairs'. They wished

> to further these interests by providing a meeting place; establishing a reading room, library, and museum; facilitating exchange of experience and affording opportunities for reading papers, and undertaking and encouraging investigation into the history, progress, resources, and people of the scattered portions of the Empire.

This association provided him with a great deal of stimulus and food for thought.

In August 1868 Lynn went to Canada to follow the fortunes of sixteen families sent out from England by private subscription. He visited Barrie, Orillia, Gravenhurst, and Bracebridge in the Free Grant District of Muskoka and eventually spent the winter in Haliburton, participating with gusto in such pioneer activities as a logging bee and sleigh rides, partridge hunting, tracking deer, and escaping from a wolf. He may be presumed to have recorded these experiences pictorially as he did later in Manitoba; but no drawing of this kind has come to light. However, on returning to London (1869), he published 'Canada. A Pamphlet for Working-Men on Emigration, Labour, Wages, and Free Grants of Land' and 'Farming in Canada or Life in the Back Woods'. He also spoke from recent first-hand knowledge at meetings of the Royal Colonial Institute. Lynn had become a vigorous promoter of British emigration to Canada.

In the late summer of 1871, he crossed the Atlantic again with a group of emigrants. This time he spent the winter in Kansas and Nebraska, to observe the western

states and see whether they were superior to Ontario, as was often claimed. Lynn retained his original preference; he criticized the United States for neglecting immigrants on the journey west, the inequities of allotting land, the prevalence of malaria, and high taxes. During the winter and a quick trip to London in the spring, however, his attention turned from eastern Canada to the new province of Manitoba. Since there were signs that much of the best land in Ontario had been taken up and that some settlers there were restless, he decided to see for himself whether the Canadian Northwest could offer a counter-attraction to the western states.

In May 1872 Lynn began a leisurely trip from the Kansas-Nebraska territory to Fort Garry, inspecting the country and interviewing settlers along the way. After a long halt, caused by a bout of malaria, he took a Mississippi steamboat from Quincy, Illinois, to St Paul, then went by rail to Breckenridge, the terminus of the St Paul and Pacific Railroad. His letters to the *Globe* described the route, accommodations, and the cost of the journey for the benefit of future travellers. He also repeated his theme of the disadvantages of settling in the United States.

For the last lap of the trip Lynn chose to travel down the Red River on one of the flat-boats which carried lumber and other supplies to Fort Garry, where, after a voyage of about twenty days, the cargo was landed and the boats broken up. He made this choice because

> it has given me a more accurate knowledge of a region that is destined before long to become one of the world's granaries than I could have obtained by rushing through it in a hurry either by stage or steamboat.

The river was very winding; he estimated that sixty miles by land was equivalent to two hundred by river and so he had many opportunities to land and examine the soil, vegetation and geological features. He found the scenery extremely dull.

> On the other side of the cotton-wood belt [along the river] was the flat and uninhabited waste, stretching away to a blue line on the horizon — so monotonous that the finding of a thistle growing on the shore . . . formed an event to break the even tenor of our way.

He felt that few other rivers in the world had such an unvarying landscape.

> Its banks never rise to the height and dignity of a bluff, nor ever sink so low as to border it with lake or swamp. They seem never to get below twelve feet nor ever to rise above thirty feet over the ordinary level of the stream.

To modify this view his companions pointed out 'several places where the tree trunks had been scarred twenty feet over our heads by drift of ice' at flood time. Also he saw the results of fierce forest fires, 'long charred and blackened [tree] trunks standing mournfully against the sky'.

On 9 August he was glad to reach Pembina, though finding it much smaller than he had expected. Here he noted the American fort, built with logs and stockaded, with comfortable accommodation for five companies of officers and men. There was a log custom house; and about fifty or sixty log houses and stores 'neatly thatched and plastered over outside with lime and clay'. A surveying party from the Northern Pacific Railroad was taking levels for a bridge. On the Canadian side stood a small H B C fort, the site of the Fenian Raid of the year before: four log buildings in a quadrangle with a rude stockade. This was now held by a company of fifty volunteers, who had just completed work on a bastion.

After Pembina, Lynn was in the Red River Settlement. Farmhouses and outbuildings appeared along the banks. He could almost imagine himself among the small farmhouses and labourers' cottages of rural England.

> The plastered log houses looked so white and neat with their haystacks and outbuildings and patches of corn and vegetables around them. Small herds of cattle were browsing on the plain or were being driven home to their corrals by picturesquely garbed and dark-skinned little half-breed boys.

He found the housing different from anything he had seen on the prairies before:

> no longer the miserable mud shanties or rickety boarded houses such as are common in Kansas or Nebraska, where their only idea of thatch is to pile a heap of hay on top of a cabin with a pitchfork and then cover it with dirt to keep it down.

Twelve miles from Fort Garry they passed St Norbert (which he miscalled Headingly), notable for its large church and cozy manse. Soon after, the artist's eye spotted a sawmill 'with its tall black chimney standing out boldly against a background of golden wheat fields'.

Lynn was much struck with the appearance of the Métis inhabitants:

> Whilst they retained the Indian features as well as their slouching gait and form, yet the expression of their countenances was totally different from that of the wild and full-blooded warrior — lacking entirely the sternness and ferocity and even intelligence of the savage — but in its simple and good-natured but somewhat obtuse way it reminded me more of the English agricultural labourer, with his broad, homely, [features] and not over-acute character.

He also compared them with gypsies (except for their 'peculiar honesty'). Some were grouped around their thresholds, smoking pipes and chatting. Others were going to Sunday evening service, 'the men in their best black clothes, generally relieved by a brightly dyed crimson scarf around their waists'.

On his arrival at Fort Garry he learned that this was the Hudson's Bay Company headquarters only, 'a collection of log buildings and offices, lathed and plastered and surrounded by a stout double wall of logs with round but not very upright stone towers at their flanks and angles'. The town itself was called Winnipeg. It was made up of two principal streets: a long one, Main, running north from Fort Garry parallel to the Red river, and Portage, running towards the river at right angles to Main. Others were laid out and had some scattered buildings 'but only in the merest embryotic condition'. Even on Main

and Portage, sidewalks and pavements were 'represented by a few broken bits of planking, with long and, in wet weather, muddy intervals between.' Lots on the side-streets were valued at $50 to $80 and, on the main streets when available, at $200 each. There was a rumour that some near the Fort had been auctioned for $1,000 to $1,200 each. Many of the buildings were of plastered logs. Others were one-storey frame stores or dwellings: 'But the number of these unpretending erections becomes greater every day and the business done here is far ahead of the places it is done in.' There were several hotels 'rough in accommodation, as might be expected, yet not altogether uncomfortable' ranging in rates from $5 to $8 per week for board and lodging.

Alternative housing was furnished by tents of every size and description scattered about on all the waste lands around the town, from the skin-covered wigwam of the Indian to the bow-shaped waggon tilt of the petty trader or land hunter.

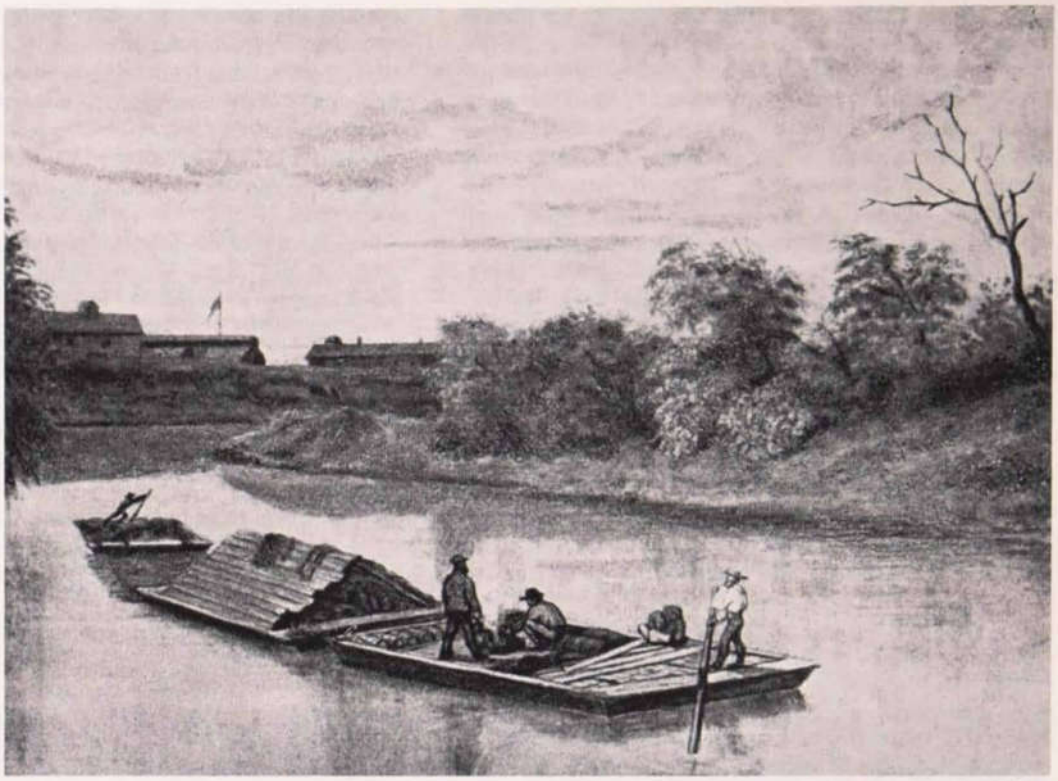
This 'free and easy style of life' was attractive, since hotels were expensive and houses difficult to obtain, even at extraordinary rents. After a short stay in a hotel, Lynn joined the campers: 'I have taken to my tent again, which, from long habit during the past two or three years, seems more like home to me now than the noisy and bustling tavern.' His overland trunk was very useful. With a wheel strapped to one end and a pair of handles on the other, it could be wheeled like a barrow or, at the door of the tent, double as a table where he wrote his letters. He pictured himself

anon looking up pensively at the ruby and gold and violet hues of the sunset before me or occasionally relieving the tedium of writing by strolling amongst the bushes around and picking the large, ripe black currants which grow wild amongst them.

Close by were two families. One lived in a large American tent, fifteen feet by twenty feet, divided into two or three compartments. The other, five or six in number, 'contrive to pack themselves away on their chests and boxes beneath one of the ordinary bell-shaped description'. A newly-arrived Canadian had even more elementary shelter, some pine boards leaning against a rail fence. Lynn strongly advised

The H B C post at Pembina, scene of an unsuccessful Fenian raid the year before Lynn passed through in August 1872.

Hudson's Bay Company Collection



'Flat-boats on the Red River'.

settlers to bring along tents to use during the six summer months of the year, while they were putting up more substantial residences. An alternative was the tilted wagon, the settler's 'roof in town or on the plains' beside which he could cook his meal 'over his own hunter's fire at a cost no greater than the market price of the raw material'. Suggested equipment included blankets, bedding, stew-pan, frying pan, pot, kettle, and bake-oven.

Thinking that the price of commodities would be of interest he noted the high price of lumber — $55 per 1,000 finished, twice as much as in Minnesota, but relatively cheaper in the rough, since there were several sawmills in the neighborhood. Flour was $4 per 100 lbs, beef 12c to 15c per lb, bacon flitches 18c per lb, coffee 47½c per lb, tea 62½c per lb and sugar from 18c to 25c.

The land around Winnipeg was a continuation of that seen on his trip, a level plain unbroken except for clumps of poplars fringing the rivers. Lynn appreciated the richness of the soil and felt that modern intensive farming, as yet untried, would yield high returns. He took a positive stance on the question of three often-quoted drawbacks to settling in Manitoba: mud, climate, and grasshoppers. The mud was essentially another facet of the rich black soil, which was far more fertile than rocky or sandy country. Although he could not speak from personal experience about the winter, he theorized that the Saskatchewan, Assiniboine and Lake Winnipeg districts formed a kind of basin surrounded by higher levels and were thus protected from the gales so common in Kansas and Nebraska. Without high winds, cold temperatures would be more bearable. The grasshopper plague, while annoying and destructive, was common to all the western plains but had not prevented extensive settlement in Kansas and Nebraska. He also felt that past famines caused by grasshopper infestation had occurred because the settlers had rarely planted more than they could consume or dispose of to a limited market in one year, which made a partial loss serious.

> Now the more enterprising and industrious classes are flocking in, all this will be changed and contingencies of loss by such ordinary prairie plagues as grasshoppers will be thought of and provided for beforehand.

Frank Lynn, who always took a great interest in people, found himself very agreeably surprised by 'the character and appearance of the inhabitants, both of town and country . . . which is far ahead of anything I had been led to expect'. Insular prejudice and ignorance (shared by many in England and Canada)

had prepared him to consider the Métis as savages, he acknowledged. His journey down the Red had already disproved this idea, and he wished to dispel it by describing them 'as like other people'. On closer acquaintance he summed up the country folk as

> not too fond of hard work, but contented to go jogging along in their own way, just raising enough wheat and vegetables for their own subsistence, generally keeping a few cows, and varying their occupation and diet by occasionally shooting game and fishing . . .

Referring to the Rebellion of 1869-70, he added that their loyalty to the Queen was unwavering, although the fear of losing their lands had caused a deep feeling of discontent against the Canadian government.

A second group of inhabitants of mixed blood took after their European parents

> so completely that a stranger would not be able to distinguish them from the white settlers themselves: they are as well educated, as deeply interested in doing business and making a profit.

Those of Scottish heritage spoke with a broad accent. Mixed with them were white settlers, both old-timers and recent arrivals. A great proportion of the townspeople consisted of merchants and professional men:

> such as one would ordinarily meet on King and Front Streets in Toronto and equally gentlemanly and well educated. The old settlers to whom the greater part of the townsite belongs are friendly hospitable people enough and I have found sufficient pleasant society to make a winter passed here anything but the dull and dreary business it would be in many of the border settlements of the South.

He encountered full-blood Indians when a band of Sioux visited Fort Garry. While the chiefs were with the authorities, the rest of the group waited at the Hudson's Bay store. Some of the men, brave in paint and feathers, squatted on one side of the door and

> passed the time by handing one of their long, double-barrelled pipes backwards and forwards to each other . . . So deep were the puffs taken by each individual that for five minutes afterwards he remained with the most imperturbable gravity, spouting smoke in dense volumes from his nose and ears, giving you the impression that he was in a condition of hopeless combustion within.

Others strutted up and down 'with conscious dignity, looking inexpressibly funny with hawk's feathers pendant all shapes and ways from their jet black hair'. Part of the group wore medallions bearing royal arms. One man of especially striking appearance 'a strange mixture of the comical and ferocious, resulting possibly from a scarcity of garments and a

'Two Families', in which Lynn recorded the contrast between the native and immigrant families of Red River.

Photograph by John D. Schiff, New York

free use of paint' displayed a flag, embroidered with a little cross. The squaws, ranged by themselves on the other side of the door, laughed and talked about the sights around them 'with the usual levity of the sex'. He characterized some as 'mouse-colored and rather good looking'; but their appearance and garb lacked 'the colorful drama of the braves'. Lightly-clad children, tumbling about everywhere, reminded him of London street Arabs.

According to Lynn, the Indians were considered a nuisance because of begging and thieving. His own attitude was more complex. At times his tone was conventional and patronizing, depicting their appearance as inexpressibly funny and giving a facetious twist to his descriptions. Nevertheless the Indians fascinated him.

> I have excepted myself [from thinking them a nuisance] because to me their very picturesque appearance more than makes up for their troublesome qualities, and I promise myself some pleasant occupation in sketching them during the coming winter.

This is one of Lynn's rare references to his work as an artist. Although he made a pictorial record of the country from the beginning and referred to the use of his pencil, no sketches have come to light. The works that survive are finished paintings, whose quality testifies to skills learned at the Royal Academy. He dated 'Two Families' and 'The Forks' (first version) 1872. Because of their subject matter 'Flat-boats' and 'The Dakota Boat' can be assumed to come from the same period.

The paintings were not merely illustrations of the letters. They portrayed the country and the life of the people more objectively than Lynn was able to do in words. The Grey Nuns, the steamboat and Red River cart, the teepees and settlers' buildings, the varied costumes of the mixed society — all add to the realistic detail of life at Red River. There is no hint of caricature. On the other hand, these are not 'studio' paintings of noble savages and the romantic wilderness.

Lynn's use of colour gives strength to his paintings. His palette varies from the soft, fresh hues of 'The Forks' to more dramatic full-bodied colours in 'The Dakota Boat'; and he has applied the pigments skilfully, with many gradations of shade and tone, especially in skies and landscapes. To appreciate their subtlety, one has only to turn to the flat surfaces found in copies by E. J. Hutchins.

The scenes in the paintings take place along the rivers winding beneath the great prairie sky; in the background are the settlements, small in contrast to the wide expanse of open country. Within this framework the inhabitants — Indians, Métis, Canadians, and Europeans — go about their daily activities. Although somewhat primitive, the figures usually are not wooden and often move successfully. Many details, from the carefully differentiated flowers and foliage in the foreground to small genre scenes in the distance, add depth and interest to the whole. For the most part Lynn has arranged the elements with clarity and spaciousness. Thus in 'The Forks' we look beyond the Grey Nuns and Métis on the bank to the ferry and flat-boat, the forks of the river and, finally, Fort Garry. The Indian group, a major focus of interest in 'The Dakota Boat', is balanced by the unloading of the steamboat and the bustle of activity beside the fort. 'Two Families' shows less skill, with spatial relationships less carefully realized. Perhaps the most elegant composition of all is found in 'Flat-boats' with its sweeping curves.

In his painting Lynn has chosen to record some of the contrasts present in the settlements: the age-old Indian tipi beside the steamboat, the harbinger of trade and expansion; the 'European' family picking nosegays, quite at home on the river bank where the Indian and his wife are returning with game shot earlier in the day. The modern viewer may see a certain pathos in these scenes. Lynn's interest in the Indians and settlers as colourful subjects, however, seems to be balanced by his appreciation of the new inventions and 'up and coming' immigrants who were to make the empty land a productive part of the Empire. It is possible also that new settlers asked to have Indians represented in Manitoba pictures of themselves, as in 'Two Families'.

Originally Lynn had intended to survey the situation in the Northwest and return to report his findings to the Colonial Institute in the autumn. However, his delay in May and June and the long journey north had brought him to Winnipeg too late in the summer to look around as thoroughly as he wished. A plan of going up the Saskatchewan River would have meant wintering at a remote Hudson's Bay Company fort where he felt there would be little opportunity of seeing the country or sending correspondence back. Much more congenial was the idea of making Winnipeg his headquarters, with some trips into the interior or to one or two of the lakes before winter came on. The intriguing atmosphere of the new country, where pleasant society and aboriginal people mingled in a frontier setting, made him believe that he would 'find more than enough to employ both pen and pencil for some time'. Probably he visualized spending the winter only, as he had done in Ontario and on the western plains. His life in Winnipeg, however, was to span more than three decades. During that time he became the first resident artist since Peter Rindisbacher; he continued his journalistic career for a while, and involved himself in the problems of the country. His life in Manitoba is not the stuff that conventional success stories are made of, but his 'pen and pencil' furnish a tangible and individual record of the place, especially during the expanding period of the 1870s.

Hudson's Bay Company Collection

'A Hudson's Bay Company Fort, 1870s'.

WORKS OF WASHINGTON FRANK LYNN

The following descriptions pertain to the works of Lynn that appear with this article; most of these are believed to date from his early years of painting in Manitoba. There are several later works by the artist that are not dealt with here.

Descriptions are arranged by order of appearance, and include title of works; medium; measurement in inches, with height preceding width; inscriptions on works (in italics); explanatory notes; and location.

The Forks
Oil on canvas. 24 x 34
Inscribed *W. F. Lynn.*
There are five known versions, all located in Winnipeg. The earliest is inscribed *W F Lynn 1872.*
Winnipeg Art Gallery.

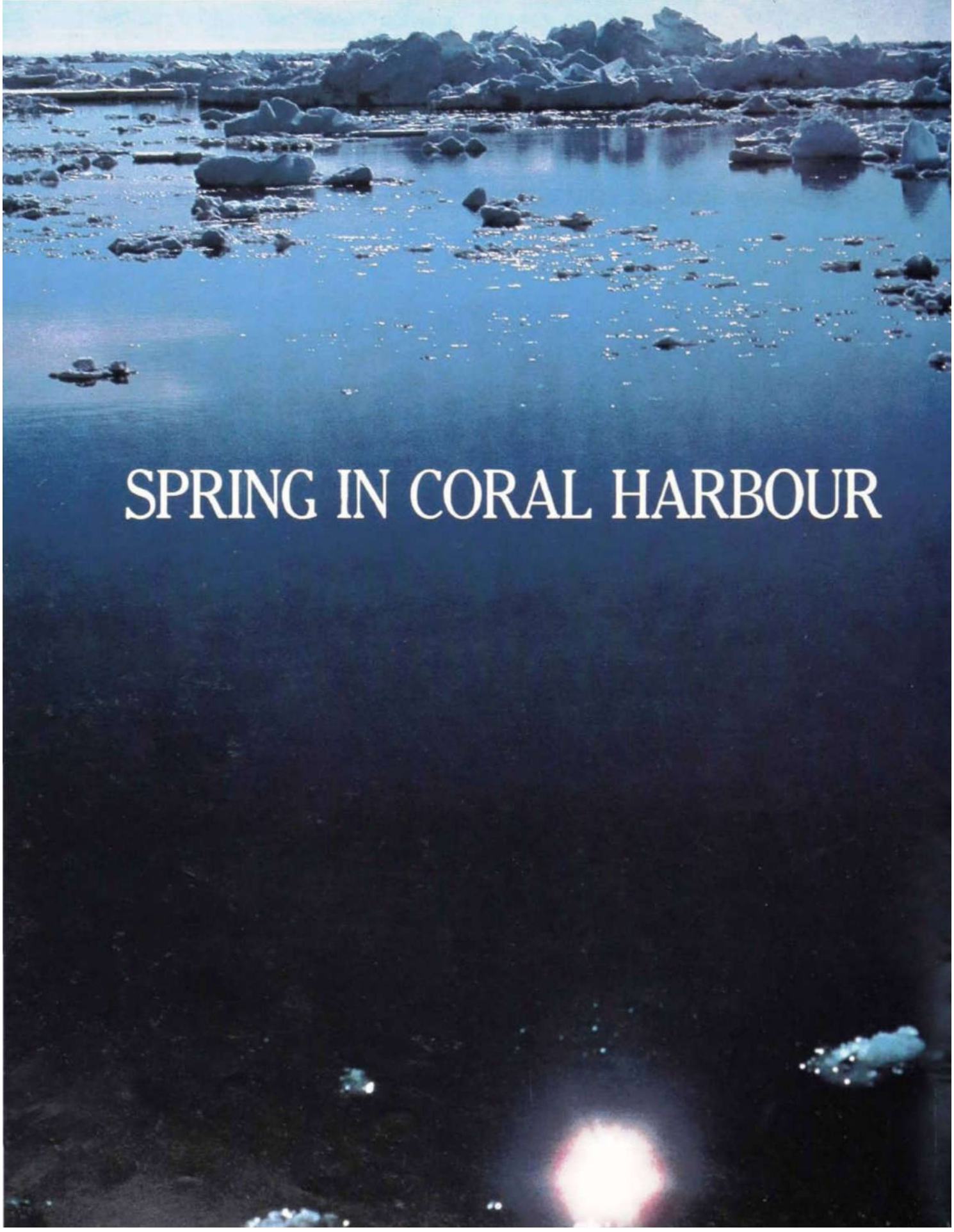
The Dakota Boat
Oil on canvas. 26½ x 36
Inscribed *W Frank Lynn.*
This painting also exists in a smaller version in a private collection in Winnipeg.
Winnipeg Art Gallery.

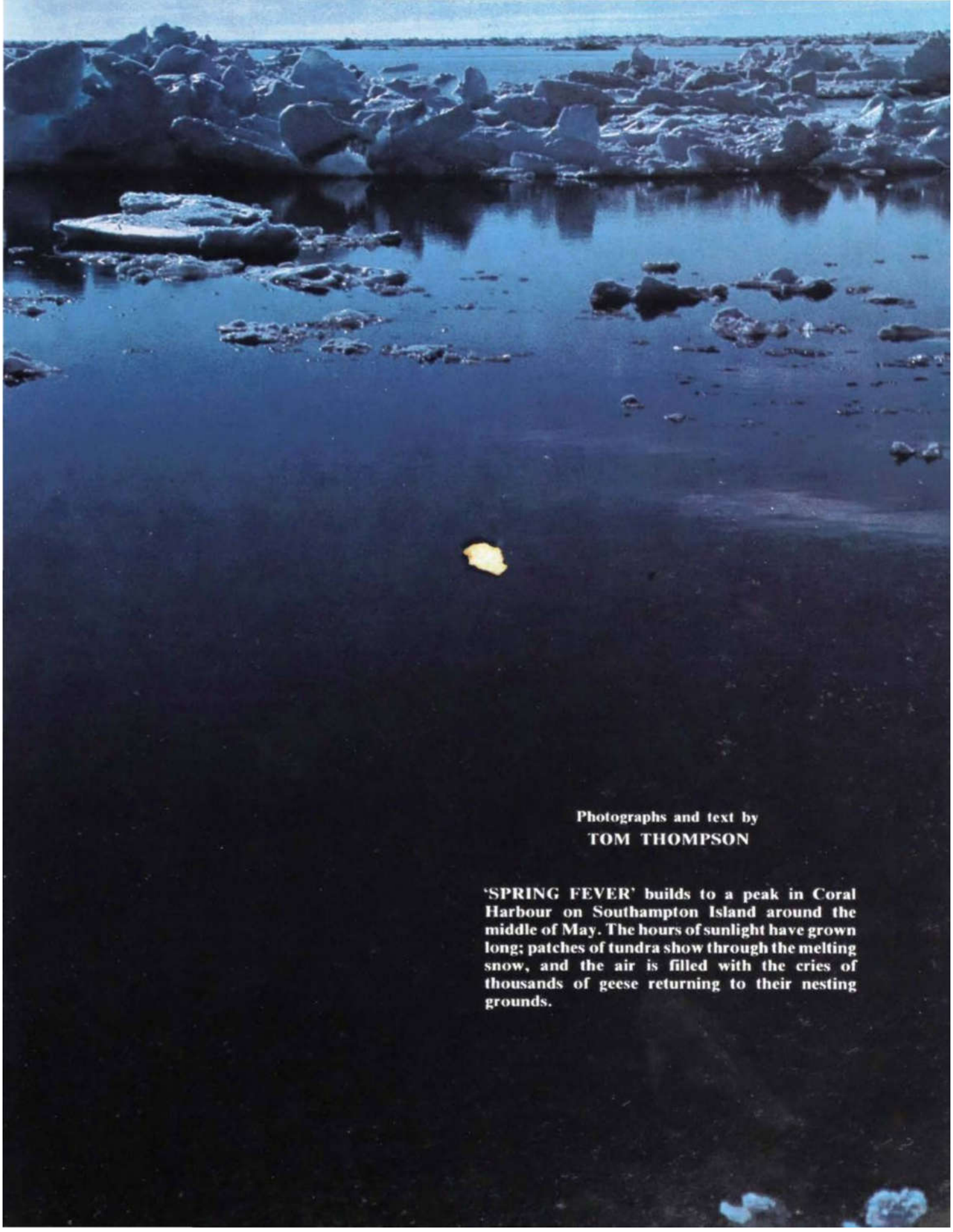
Fort Pembina, Manitoba, 1870s
Oil on board. 11¾ x 15½
A label on verso is inscribed *Fort Garry, Winnipeg, with river;* however examination of contemporary drawings has revealed it to be the H B C post at Pembina as it appeared in the early 1870s.
Hudson's Bay Company.

Flat-boats on the Red River
Oil on board. 10 x 15½
Inscribed *W Frank Lynn.*
Location unknown since 1969.

Two Families
Medium and size unknown.
Inscribed *W F Lynn Winnipeg 1872.*
Location unknown.

A Hudson's Bay Company Fort, 1870s.
Oil on board. 9¾ x 14½
Inscribed *W Frank Lynn.*
A label on verso is inscribed *Fort Garry, Winnipeg;* however the buildings cannot be identified from any known views of Fort Garry from this period. Lynn painted at least one other version, the location of which is unknown.
Hudson's Bay Company. ◆


SPRING IN CORAL HARBOUR



Photographs and text by
TOM THOMPSON

'SPRING FEVER' builds to a peak in Coral Harbour on Southampton Island around the middle of May. The hours of sunlight have grown long; patches of tundra show through the melting snow, and the air is filled with the cries of thousands of geese returning to their nesting grounds.

Signs of spring: sun-glasses . . .

. . . hip waders

. . . and giant puddles.

In the school yard a giant puddle forms as the days grow warm. Everyone in the hamlet dons rubber boots and sun-glasses, and the children play outside most of the night and stumble into class at recess time.

In my class of twenty-four at Atausiunasuamig School, only fourteen were attending with regularity. When I asked where the others were, the answer came back from fourteen envious throats: 'Spring camping'.

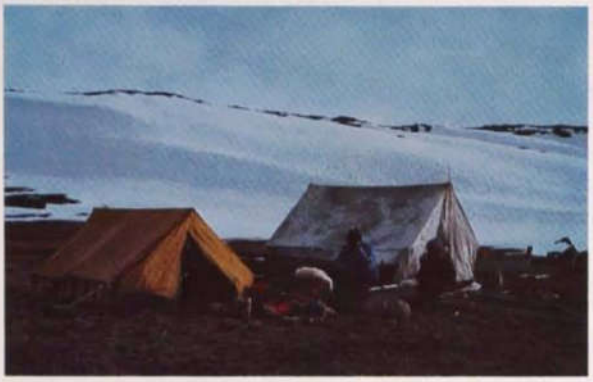
Then on Victoria Day weekend I, too, was invited to go spring camping. My friends said they would not be going far: just over the mountains and out to the floe edge. They would shoot a few ptarmigan and geese and maybe a seal.

We loaded two kamotiks with camping supplies on Saturday morning, hitched them to skidoos, and started off. The temperature was about 11°C. There was lots of bright, warm sun and no wind. In the clear air the mountains which were twenty miles distant, looked about an hour away.

By now a lot of the snow had melted and the land was a patchwork of white and green. The skidoo jerked as we passed from a patch of snow to open ground and back again. My friend, John Ookpik, had removed the hood, as most drivers do, to help the engine cool more efficiently in the mild weather.

We stopped briefly when John spotted two ptarmigan, almost white against snow, and shot them with a single shot. We stopped again at three tents where families were out camping on the long weekend. They had freshly-stewed goose in the pot and invited us to try it. We sat down, ate, drank cocoa and talked

A spring camp.



Travelling towards the floe edge.

about where the geese were and how close you could move in on them on skidoos. Most of the campers were employed in Coral Harbour; they were out to enjoy the sun, to see the countryside, and relax.

We reached our campsite at the base of Big Corner cliff and pitched the tents. At ten o'clock when we were tired and crawled into our sleeping bags, it was still bright outside. I found it difficult to sleep and lay awake as the light faded to twilight and came back with the sun at 2.30 in the morning.

The next day was hazy but warm. We headed out towards the open sea, travelling at high speed across the smooth, flat ice of the bay. We covered close to fifty miles, stopping from time to time to rest or eat, or look for geese. We were headed towards the floe edge — the point where ice and the open sea meet. My friends told me that it was a scene I should not miss.

As we approached the sea, the sun broke through the haze and in the distance about two miles away we saw it shining on a vast expanse of open water. At about this point the sea ice became rough. We slowed our speed, then stopped and walked the last fifty yards to the edge of the ice. Seven months of cold and darkness intensified our pleasure in the scene: white snow, ice, and sunlit blue-green water stretching out as far as our eyes could see. We lingered for an hour, watching for seals and enjoying the experience of an arctic spring: the sounds of ducks and geese out there beyond us among chunks of floating, melting ice, and the motion of the sea ice itself — heaving, falling, and breaking, slowly making way for the summer ahead.◆

The floe edge: sun, water, the sounds of ducks and geese, and the falling, heaving and breaking of the sea ice.

Jacob W. Gruber

Sieur de Monts' 'Isle de sainte Croix', now Dochet Island, Maine, viewed from the south.

St Croix Island

By Ralph Smith

The author is a Toronto businessman with an interest in history.

THE TINY ISLAND of St Croix — less than 300 yards long and roughly 125 yards wide — lies in the middle of St Croix River not far from St Andrews, New Brunswick. Today the island (known as Dochet and in the state of Maine) serves as little more than a navigational aid to boaters. Yet, in 1604 it was chosen by Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts and Samuel de Champlain as the site for the colony that they hoped would be the beginning of permanent settlement in North America by the French. They sailed under the banner of Henry IV of France who had given de Monts full authority over all of North America from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degrees of latitude, and the exclusive right to trade furs for ten years. In return de Monts was to settle and cultivate the lands, to make friends with the Indians, and to search for precious metals.

The history of the colony at St Croix is well documented by Champlain in *Les Voyages*. His story drew me to visit the spot last autumn with a group of seven divers from Toronto and St Andrews. On a clear day in September 1977 we headed north by motor boat from St Andrews with our diving equipment and supplies. My impressions, on first sight of the island, recalled the words written by Champlain on his approach to it late in June 1604:

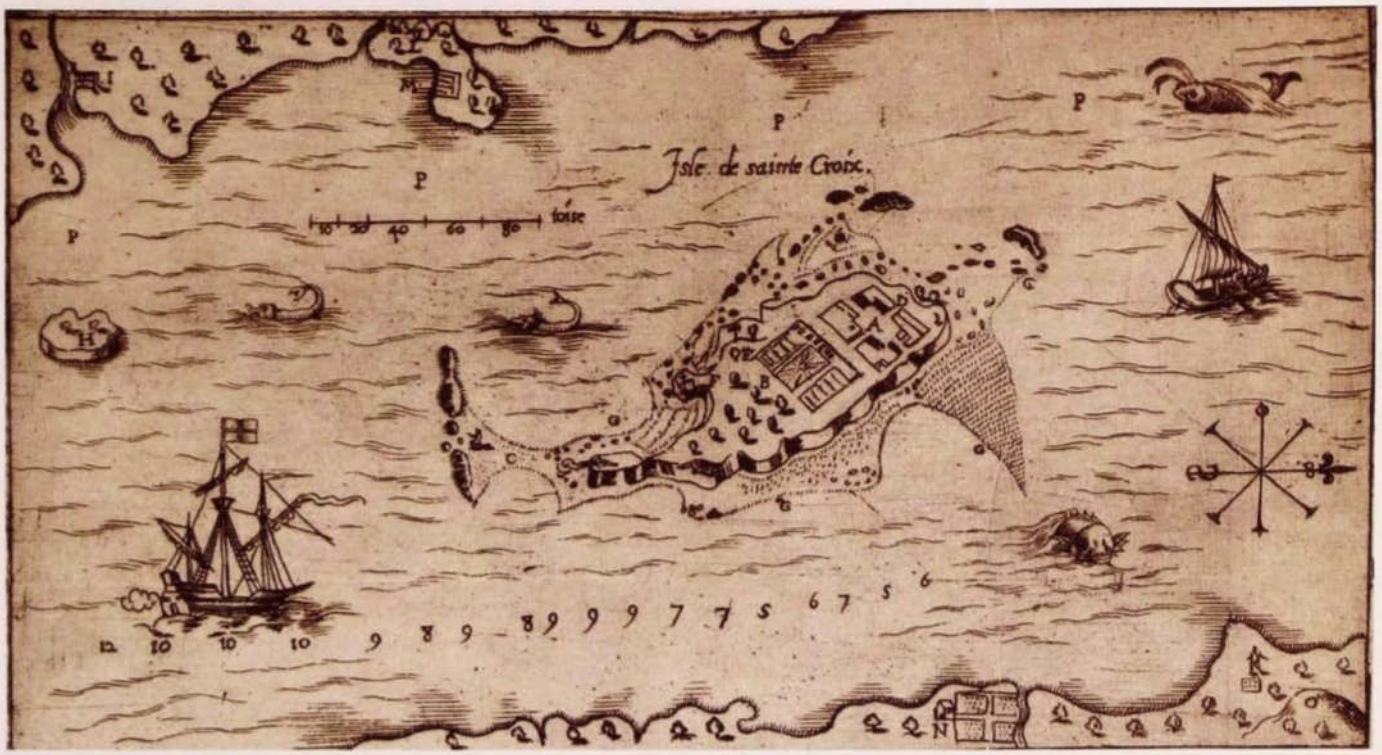
'. . . we entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth, sailing up which a league or two found two islands: one very small near the western bank and the other [St Croix] in the middle, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces . . . where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other useful articles.'

Champlain noted a sheltered place for anchorage, and a fine growth of firs, birches, maples and oaks. The soil was 'of the very best', and the catch of herring and bass so great in May and June that 'the vessels could be loaded with them.' In the eyes of de Monts, a military man, the decisive factor was the fact that the island could be made secure from attack by the Indians or by vessels that could 'only pass along the river at the mercy of the cannon'.

On that pleasant day in June the threat from Indians — 'who in the course of time we hoped to pacify' — appeared a greater hazard than the winter winds that would sweep the island from the north-west.

With remarkable speed the colonists turned the island into a well-fortified outpost, complete with barricade, cannon, and barracks for the Swiss mercenary soldiers. Then attention was turned to the dwellings. The work went forward 'steadily and vigorously', for the builders were skilled artisans: carpenters, joiners, masons, stone carvers and locksmiths. A number of tailors were included in the party and two surgeons, and a priest, Father Aubry. A large storehouse was built, and a blacksmith's shop, oven, communal kitchen, grain mill, and chapel. With the colony under way de Monts sent the two large ships back to France, leaving the colony with two small pinnaces and a population of 79 men.

Champlain took one pinnace and spent the balance of September on an exploratory mission to the south-west. When he returned on 2 October, the dwellings had been completed. The first snow fell four days later



Champlain's map of St Croix Island from his 'Voyages', which was used in the 1790s to determine the international boundary between New Brunswick and Maine. Champlain drew the island on a scale three times as great as that of the shores in order to include all features on a single map. The shore at the top is now Maine; that at the bottom, New Brunswick.

KEY TO CHAMPLAIN'S MAP OF ST CROIX ISLAND
(Figures indicate fathoms of water)

A. Plan of the settlement.
B. Gardens.
C. Small islet serving as platform for cannon (letter should be further right by drawing of cannon, on a knoll now called Cannon Nubble).
D. Platform upon which cannon were placed.
E. The cemetery.
F. The chapel.
G. Rocky shoals around St Croix Island.
H. A little islet (now called Little Dochet Island).
I. The spot where Sieur de Monts had begun a water-mill.
L. The place where charcoal was made.
M. Gardens on the western mainland.
N. Other gardens on the eastern mainland.
O. A large high mountain in the distance.
P. River of the Etechemins, flowing around St Croix Island (now called the St Croix River).

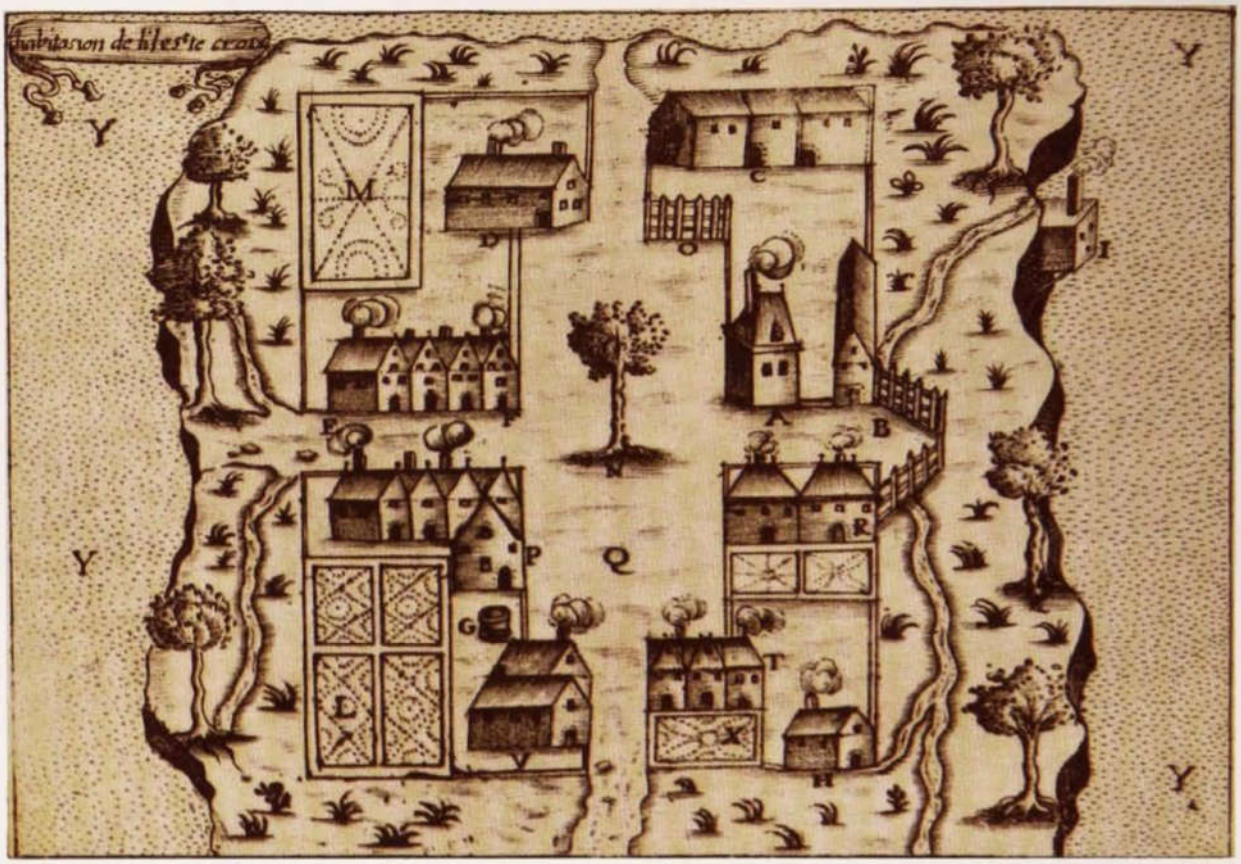
and by early December ice was floating in the river. The weather became intensely cold and the beverages froze . . . 'except the Spanish wine. Cider was given out by the pound. This loss was due to the fact that the storehouse had no cellar, and the air that entered through the cracks was more severe than that outside.'

The colony was cut off from the mainland and their source of firewood by 'great cakes of ice carried by the ebb and flow of the tide'. The men developed scurvy, and before spring came almost half of them had died.

The malady, Champlain wrote, was called 'land-sickness, otherwise scurvy . . . of seventy-nine of us, thirty-five died, and more than twenty were very near it. . . . We could find no remedy with which to cure these maladies.'

In the midst of this desperate situation, there was one group of eleven who remained well . . . 'a jolly company of hunters who preferred rabbit hunting to the air of the fireside; skating on ponds, to turning over lazily in bed; making snowballs to bring down the game, to sitting around the fire talking about Paris and its good cooks.'

With the coming of spring, those men 'who continued to be ill grew well'. When the supply ships that were due to arrive failed to come from France, de Monts prepared the two pinnaces for a trip down the river to search for 'vessels in which to return to



Plan of the settlement at St Croix from Champlain's 'Voyages', was probably made by an engraver who embellished Champlain's original sketch at the expense of accuracy. The outline of the island is altered, and the settlement is depicted as oblong in shape rather than square. All buildings appear to be well-constructed and finished, whereas in fact most were probably simple log huts except for de Monts' residence (A), the storehouse (C), and possibly Champlain's residence (R); built of timbers brought from France.

KEY TO CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT AT ST CROIX

A. The Sieur de Monts' dwelling.
B. Public building.
C. Storehouse.
D. Dwelling of the Swiss.
E. Blacksmith shop.
F. Carpenters' dwelling.
G. The well.
H. Bake-house.
I. Cook-house.
L. Gardens.
M. Other gardens.
N. The public square with a tree in the middle of it.
O. Palisade.
P. Dwellings of the Sieurs de Genestou, Sourin, and other workmen.
Q. Dwelling of the Sieur Boulay, and other workmen.
R. Residence of Champlain.
T. Dwellings of the Sieurs de Beaumont, La Motte Bourioli, and Fougeray.
V. Dwelling of the priest.
X. Other gardens.
Y. The river which surrounds the island (now the St Croix River).

Jacob W. Gruber

The site of the St Croix settlement during excavations in 1969, looking north. The large boulder which now bears a memorial tablet was probably located at the apex of the projection of the palisade, between 'R' and 'B' on Champlain's plan (p. 38).

France'. Then on the evening of 15 June, while Champlain was 'on guard about eleven o'clock at night, there arrived in a shallop Pont-Gravé, captain of one of the Sieur de Monts' vessels, who informed us that his ship was at anchor six leagues from our settlement. He was welcomed to the joy of all.'

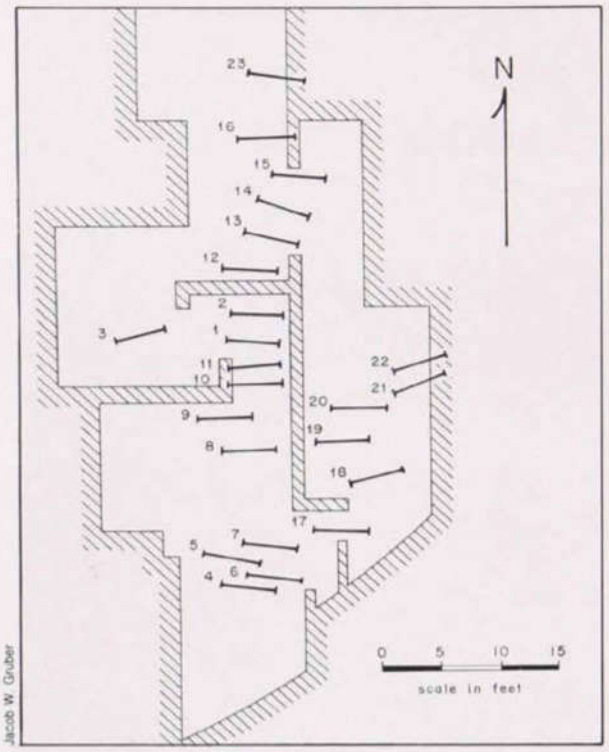
The hopes of the colonists were rekindled, and on 17 June, de Monts decided to go in search of a more suitable site . . . 'one where the climate was milder than where we were'. They decided by mid-summer on the snug harbour of Port Royal . . . 'twenty-five leagues distant, where we judged the climate to be much more agreeable and temperate . . . with shelter from the north-west wind, which we dreaded on account of having been greatly distressed thereby.' They loaded the two pinnaces with the woodwork of the houses at St Croix, cleared the ground at the new site and erected their dwellings.

By August 1605, St Croix was abandoned. With cargo space in the pinnaces at a premium, the colonists carried only the essentials, leaving behind for historians and archaeologists the storehouse, features of what is now called the 'fort' area, and the graveyard.

The earliest recorded attempt at archaeology on the island was by Robert Pagan of St Andrews in July 1795. A few years later the international boundary commissioners, with a copy of Champlain's original map at hand, examined the St Croix River, chosen as the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. They found the ruins of de Monts' settlement on Dochet Island and marked the boundary between Canada and the United States by its location.

In May and June 1950, Wendell S. Hadlock led an archaeological dig on the island that resulted in the locating of some of the remaining features of the French occupation. The narrow two-foot-wide trenches at twenty-foot intervals can still be seen today. Also in evidence is the patchwork of the horizontal stripping made in 1968-1969 by the Jacob W. Gruber / Temple University group from Philadelphia.

The Gruber excavations for the United States National Park Service are the most extensive and informative to date. The burial area, for example, has provided new demographic information particularly on the burial practices of the colonists. Twenty-three burials were exposed, examined, recorded and re-buried with the utmost care and respect. Following the Christian pattern of burial of that time, all of the bodies were interred lying on their backs, feet placed towards the east and heads to the west. This alignment of the body axis conformed to the belief that at the millennium the dead would rise and walk to the east. Only slight irregularities existed which were thought



Jacob W. Gruber

Of the 79 men who wintered on St Croix in 1604-05, 35 died. In 1968-69 the Jacob W. Gruber / Temple University, Philadelphia, group examined 23 of the burials. In accordance with Christian burial practices of the time, the bodies were interred with the feet towards the east. The rising sun was probably used as a reference point for burial; variations in alignment, as illustrated at left, would be due to changes in the position of the sun on the horizon during the winter and spring.

Jacob W. Gruber

Fred Fleischer

Discarded pottery from the waters around Dochet Island.

to have been connected with the position of the rising sun on the horizon at different time intervals throughout the winter and spring of 1605. Many artifacts associated with the de Monts period were found, particularly in the area of the storehouse. Quantities of nails, bone scraps, beads, pottery, musket balls and bricks were recovered from the shallow pits and in the areas of known structures.

As we walked about the island and took our photographs, we had a strong awareness of the past. The tiny island was scene of the labour, the hopes, and the sufferings of the first band of colonists in North America north of the Carolinas. If the winter had been mild, the colony would perhaps have put down firm roots, creating a centre of French influence in Maine rather than in Nova Scotia.

The underwater dive segment of our stay lasted only a few hours on 4 and 5 September, for heavy tidal currents exist around the shores except for a brief period each day. We dived at low ebb searching the areas of Treats Cove, Chapel Nubble, Wrights Nubble and the point of land at the north of the island. Almost all of these areas contain broken pottery accumulated over the four centuries that Europeans have been visiting St Croix.

It is probable that archaeologists, trained in the identification of pottery fragments and other artifacts, would glean much from organized underwater searches. For me, it was enough to glide along the bottom, looking for even the most minute piece of evidence of the habitation that once existed. ◆

The 'Nascopie' at Dundas Harbour.

The Devon Island Post

By Chesley Russell

IN THE SUMMER of 1934 the Hudson's Bay Company co-ordinated the move of ten families from Baffin Island to Dundas Harbour on North Devon Island where game, particularly in the water, was abundant. Four of the families were from Cape Dorset, three were from Pangnirtung and another three were from Pond Inlet. The total contingent numbered fifty-three: men, women and children. The undertaking had the approval of the federal government, and the Eskimos had voluntarily agreed to the transfer. The move was made on an understanding between Company and government representatives and the Eskimos that, if they were dissatisfied in any way after two years at Dundas Harbour, they would be returned to their homes.

Dundas Harbour on Bernier Bay had been established by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1924 in the interests of Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. When the detachment was vacated in the summer of 1933, it was arranged that the Company take over the police buildings. The members of the force who had served at Devon Island recommended the location on Bernier Bay as a suitable place for Eskimo settlement because of the abundance of game. The site, however, was exposed to the open sea and high winds and during the winter, moving floe ice made dog-team travel virtually impossible.

At the time of relocation, I had been the post manager at Cape Dorset for five years, and because of the involvement of four families from Dorset, I was asked to take charge of the move and the new trading post. The police buildings consisted of a house, a store, and a small shack; this accommodation met our immediate needs perfectly.

We boarded the Company supply ship *Nascopie* at Cape Dorset, and from the outset our party seemed unwelcome — especially the teams of dogs that were

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Chesley Russell has been associated with the Canadian Arctic and its people for many years; first as manager of several HBC arctic posts and then as a projects development officer with the federal government.

The Company flag is hoisted at Dundas Harbour, September 1934. Mr Russell is on the right with members of the RCMP.

forever breaking their leashes, and leaving excrement all over the deck. We had not taken on enough dog-food for the journey, and within a day or two of embarking, the dogs were ravenous. When we arrived at Port Burwell, my assistant Trevor Harwood and I took advantage of the excellent cod-fishing to provide, we thought, for our canine passengers. After several hours jigging from a small boat we had a good supply of fish — enough to keep the dogs from devouring one another or members of the crew.

When we returned to the ship with the cod, we found supper in progress. We immediately climbed on board to eat, leaving the fish unprotected in the boat until we finished our meal. After supper when we came out to attend to our catch, the boat was empty. The galley staff had appropriated every last one of the cod for serving in the dining-room. Protestations and entreaties were of no avail. Even the captain passed the matter off with a joke. This situation created a problem, for with no food some of the dogs would soon die.

Shortly after leaving Port Burwell, I noticed that the ship's carpenter and the boatswain were butchering two pigs that had been carried live on deck, as part of the ship's food stores. The pork was left overnight to 'hang' in the rigging back aft. Later that night when everything quietened down and the deck lights were darkened to aid in navigating through the ice fields, the Eskimo men and I quietly untied the dogs and let them wander around the deck. As soon as they were loose I ran aft and cut down the pigs. The commotion and noise caused by the hungry dogs when they found the pork carcasses were beyond description. In no time, most of the passengers and crew were looking out doorways and portholes, afraid to venture out and wondering what was taking place. The next day we reached Pangnirtung where we procured enough seal meat to feed the dogs for the remainder of the trip.

When we landed at Dundas Harbour towards the middle of September a light dusting of snow covered the ground. Thin ice, forming in the sheltered bays, was an indication that winter was not far off.

As soon as the supplies were landed, the Eskimos settled down in their tents and rations were issued to every family. While the hunting was carried on, and up until the trapping started and skins were being traded, all food supplies were provided at Company expense. Mr Harwood was in charge of the distribution of rations and by evening it was complete, except for molasses for Kakak. I told Mr Harwood to make certain that Kakak had every item allotted to him; otherwise he would be waking us up in the middle of the night. The clerk attended to the last detail promptly. He was a capable, intelligent, young lad fresh from Montreal who participated fully in the Dundas Harbour venture and took a keen interest in the Eskimo way of life.

The next morning our immediate concern was to get in a good supply of country food before freeze-up. We had only about three weeks of open water left and the hunters were concerned about preparations for the fast-approaching winter. If a good supply of country food was not brought in to feed the men and their families and the dog-teams, hunting and trapping activities would be drastically restricted.

On our trip aboard the *Nascopie*, there had been several members of the RCMP who had lived previously at Dundas. They strongly advised us to move the hunters farther west along the coast where the land and sheltered harbours were more appropriate to the setting up of permanent hunting and trapping camps. This was sound advice under ordinary circumstances, but time was short and we could not waste it on another move. Two boats were available — a motor boat and a whale-boat. We decided to keep some of the people at Dundas Harbour while the others were placed in a camp near Croker Bay. We left a boat at each place and concentrated all our efforts on hunting.

The first day or two the men went out to hunt on their own, and invariably returned early and empty-handed, with a hard-luck story about something or other. It was obvious that their hearts were not in their work. Mr Harwood and I decided that one of us should always accompany the hunters in order to take full advantage of the limited time at our disposal.

From the time we landed on Devon Island, the Eskimos had a depressing and pessimistic attitude towards the venture. The weather was stormy and cold and the coastline was very inhospitable. As the days passed the atmosphere of the site itself added to the gloom. The ruins of the old stone houses, occupied in an earlier era by Eskimos of the Thule culture, stood nearby, their whale-rib rafters sticking eerily out of the ground in the semi-darkness or moonlight. The dreary scene tended to instill a feeling of dread of what the future might bring.

To make matters worse, we had been told that there was a small graveyard about a hundred or so feet from the back door of the house. It contained the bodies of two policemen who had died violent deaths in that lonely place. My awareness of their graves was heightened by a situation that developed shortly after I moved into the house. This structure was a simple box-like design, measuring approximately 20' x 30'; the kitchen was centrally located and had a doorway that opened towards the sea. The area on the west served as a living-room and bedroom and the area on the east end, which I occupied, served as an office and bedroom. A door led from my room through a porch at the back of the house and the graveyard was just beyond. A few days after I had settled in, I could not help but observe that the inside door, opening to my room, was ajar every morning when I awoke. I latched the door with special attention at night and eventually

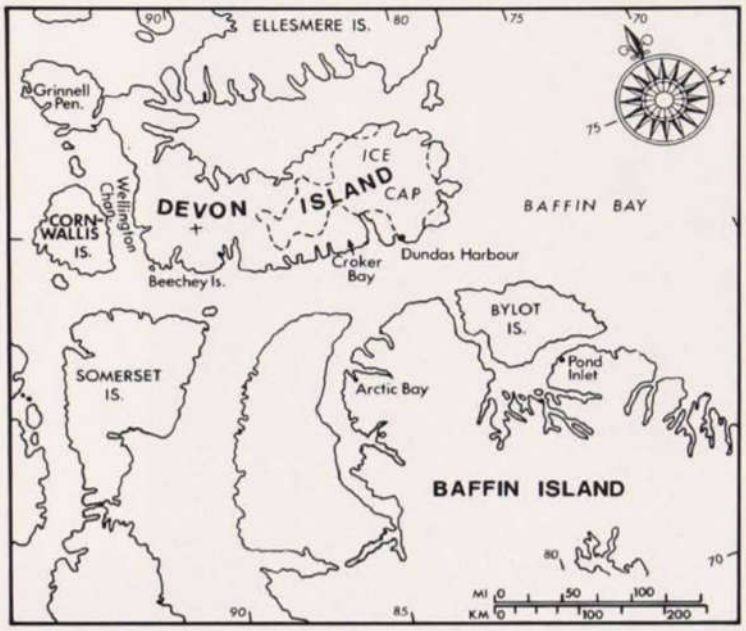
At Devon Island the Cape Dorset men excelled on the traplines; here an Inuit trapper travels along his line.

Before winter the men had a good store of country food: over twenty walrus and thirty-three beluga whales.

I was convinced that something physical or otherwise was amiss. I was inclined towards believing the latter.

As the situation continued, I was determined to find out for certain what was happening and I sat up to keep watch. The first night of my vigil, I watched until between two and three o'clock in the morning; there was no indication that the door was going to open so I went to bed and to sleep. In the morning, the door was open. The following night I repeated the performance with the same results and on the third night I persuaded Mr Harwood to stand guard with me. We gave up the vigil and turned in close to three o'clock.

In those days, I had the habit of reading in bed, no matter at what hour I retired. I was absorbed in my



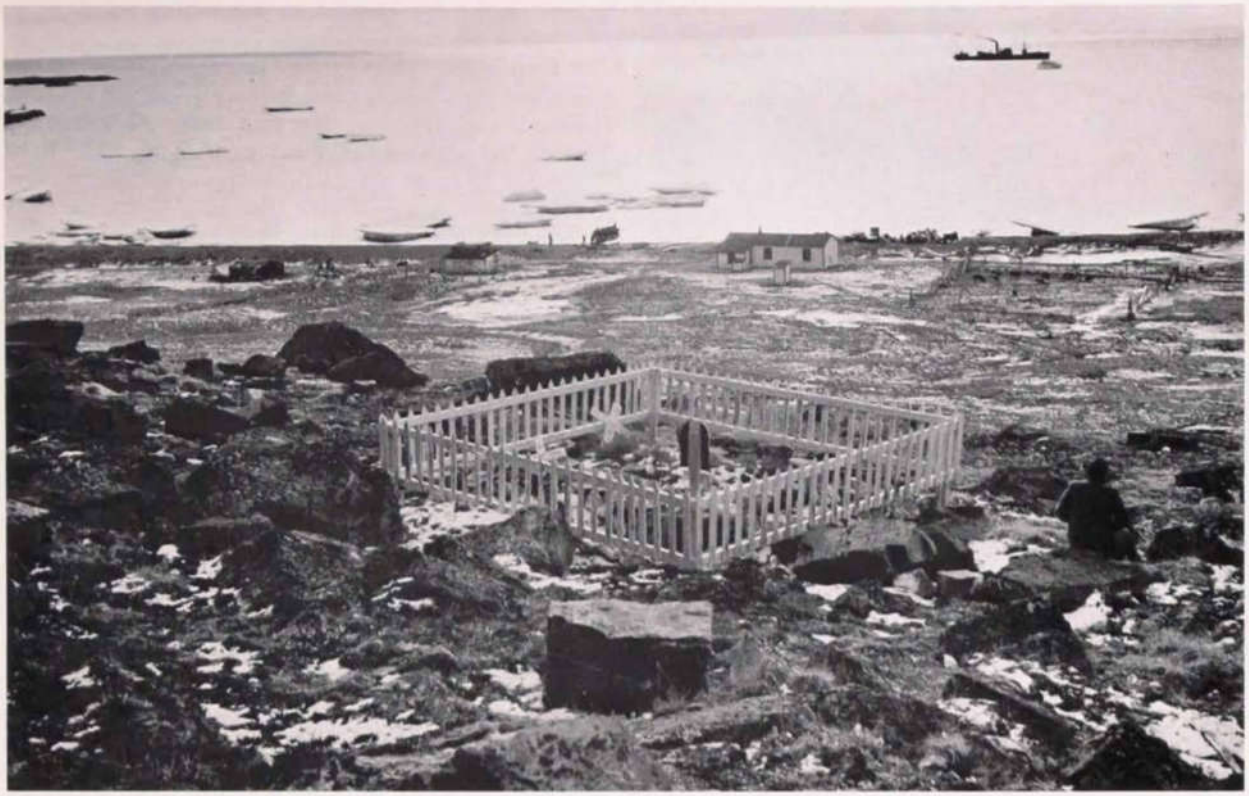
book when I became aware of a stealthy creaking in the door. I gave a shriek and cowered down in my eiderdown sleeping bag. There, I finally managed to go to sleep and slept soundly until morning. On awakening, my first action was to lift the cover off my face and look towards the door. It was again unlatched and partly open.

That was it, I decided. After breakfast I got the carpentry tools, took the door off its hinges and with the aid of a plane, chisel, and saw, made very sure that the door swung perfectly, free of warp or pressure. If that door had been open the following morning, I would have moved out to a snow-house without any regrets. The door, however, never did open on its own again and my peace of mind was no further disturbed.

Unfortunately, I had kept the Eskimos posted on my progress at 'laying the ghost', treating the matter as a joke. They took the situation more seriously and by the time I was finished with the 'creaking door' episode, they were shying away from that east end of the house and giving the graveyard a wide berth.

Predictions of gloom and mishap continued to mark our first few months of occupation on Devon Island. There were moments when even I felt sceptical about the outcome of the venture. At that time, we were probably the most northerly settlement in Canada, entirely cut off from the rest of the country with no prospect of contact with anyone outside for another twelve months.

The simple fact of survival did not concern me as much as the problem of accomplishing what we had been sent to Devon Island to do. Our mission was to establish a viable operation with a meaningful future for an Eskimo community — one that would ultimately yield profitable returns. Our hunting season had ended on an encouraging note. Before freeze-up we had 'bagged' over twenty walrus and thirty-three beluga whales. The beluga oil was most essential, for it was used in lamps to heat the snow-houses. As the time approached to set out the traplines, the fall weather became extremely unpleasant. On the thirteenth of October, a Friday, a wind of hurricane force struck and literally tore up our camp by the roots. We had been warned by the police to guard against violent storms. The buildings were chained to the rocks and we kept the chains tight and always made certain that small items stored outside were heavily weighted and tied down. When the hurricane struck, the whole group moved into the house and trade store for shelter. The gale lasted two days and when it ended, most of the families were left almost destitute: the storm had blown away their tents and belongings. The morale of the camp suffered and was at a low ebb at the start of the trapping season. The men were lethargic about setting out their traplines — a most discouraging situation. I had thought that their success in hunting would have encouraged them to continue their activities and that they would have, by now, thrown off their feelings of despair. Prospects for a good yield of white fox were favourable; yet, after the first month of trapping, the results were far below our expectations; the trappers seemed curiously reluctant to break trails over strange unknown territory, and as a result traplines were not being extended beyond walking distance from the camps. The continued darkness at the higher latitudes had a disconcerting effect on some although, with the combination of moonlight and reflection of light on snow, there was always sufficient light to keep traplines in order. My assistant and I then decided to carry over the idea we had tried during the hunting season. We accompanied each and every trapping expedition until we had covered the whole southern coast of Devon Island, as far distant as Beechey Island. It became apparent that the hunters had no objection to travelling widely as long as there was someone with them who was outside their own particular sphere of fear and superstition. After all traplines were set out over reasonable distances, there was no hesitation or lack of effort for the remainder of the season. The men gained enthusiasm and we were greatly relieved when they assumed full responsibility and apparently forgot their recent fears. When the season of 1934-35 ended , our expectations for the white fox trade were fulfilled and revenues totalled to worth-while figures. As the traplines were extended, more opportunities for



The police cemetery behind the HBC post at Dundas Harbour.

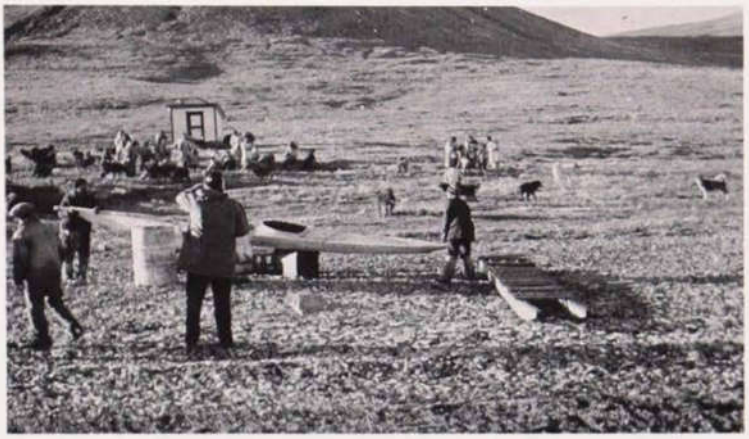
hunting were offered and there was no serious lack of country food.

With the arrival of spring, all the people were brought into the trading post at Dundas Harbour to await the return of the supply ship *Nascopie*. From here, as soon as break-up occurred, hunting expeditions were organized to stockpile meat to tide the group over the second winter. Walrus, in particular, were plentiful on the ice floes in early summer and only a little hard work was required to put up sufficient caches to meet our needs. The Eskimos by now were in a happier frame of mind. The unanimous opinion now was to vacate the site and return home on the ship at the end of the two-year period. This decision made the prospect of staying on for the season of 1935-36 easier to take. The people from Cape Dorset on south Baffin Island, in particular, could not adapt to the new environment and had made plans right from the beginning to stay no longer than the stipulated period. On the arrival of the ship we were advised, however, that plans had been made to extend our operation at Dundas Harbour for a third season.

We had hoped that sufficient building material would have been brought in to construct a site farther west and if this had been done I feel sure that everyone would have been more content and receptive to the idea of establishing a permanent community. As it was, a lasting horror of Dundas Harbour as a base site persisted. It was exposed to wind and weather and practically isolated from neighbouring regions by moving floe ice.

After the *Nascopie* left, activities proceeded smoothly. The people were dispersed to their respective camps which, by now, were situated at the most practical locations along the coast to the west. Meat caches had already been established and an atmosphere of general cheerfulness — more natural to the Eskimo people — pervaded. Everyone seemed willing and eager to co-operate and I personally derived a distinct pleasure from directing and working with the men in the course of the second year of operation. Regardless of the financial outcome of the venture, I always endeavoured to impress upon the hunters and their families that their welfare was of first importance. I will say, with all due credit, that during the course of our two-year stay on North Devon Island, not one single fatality occurred, natural or otherwise.

During the fall and winter we made periodic visits to the camps at least once a month and we looked



The Inuit from Devon Island arrive at Arctic Bay to re-open the post.

forward to these occasions with pleasant anticipation. The second winter the white fox cycle was on the decline. The initial item of trade therefore was not as plentiful as in the previous season but every effort was being made to take advantage of the current potential. The 1935-36 year of trading balanced off with satisfying results.

Over our twenty-four month period at Devon the time did not pass without diversion. On the extended traplines we visited the site on Beechey Island where the Franklin expedition had spent the winter of 1846. It was easy to visualize the conditions that must have existed among the men confined on board the ships. The graves of five of the party were mute evidence as to how they had fared. It was difficult to understand the ignorance of early explorers who let scurvy take its toll when a remedy in the form of fresh meat was available all around them. Game must have been even more plentiful in those early days.

On one of our visits we refreshed the lettering on the graveboards with suitable paint. One graveboard, I still remember, was inscribed to the memory of John Thorington. The boards were of hardwood — of English oak, I imagine. Over the years the elements — drifting snow and driving sand in all probability — had worn down the face of the wood, with the result that the more protected part under the painted lettering stood out from the surface with an embossed effect. The framework of the ketch *Mary* that Ross had left there as a possible rescue ship for the Franklin party, was still resting on the beach in upright form. I regret to say that after our two years in the region it was no longer recognizable as a boat. The Eskimos found the hardwood ribs and other planking to be perfect material for manufacturing hunting implements and other equipment. I have often thought that we were neglectful in not taking measures to preserve the historic relic.

During my years in the Arctic, I was constantly amazed by the Eskimos' bizarre sense of humour. Even in the most desperate circumstances they found cause for amusement. During the early months at Dundas Harbour when spirits were at an all-time low, I was out in the boat with four men during the daily rounds of hunting. We had bagged a female walrus that was nursing a young pup. In the process of dismembering the carcass of the adult animal in the water by the side of the boat, the young walrus got very much in the way. One of the men reached over, grabbed its flipper and pulled it into the boat. There it became a nuisance, humping around under our feet. At last I shouted for someone to dispatch the young mammal and Kakak snatched up his rifle and shot it. The bullet from the rifle passed through the body of the pup and bored a hole in the bottom of the boat. By the time I realized what had happened, I was well over my ankles in water; I tried frantically to plug the hole with items of clothing or anything else at hand. When I looked up to ask for help, the men were doubled over with laughter. The boat was rapidly filling and in danger of sinking while they enjoyed the spectacle of my frantic activity. With a bellow of anger I more or less brought them to their senses. They sobered up and held the incoming flow of water in check while I started the motor. By now the water had reached the outside base of the motor and as a result the fly wheel sprayed me with water. The appearance that I presented was again too much for the men, and they broke into laughter. We reached land without further trouble and managed to make the repairs that got us safely back to the post.

Although we were determined that the season of 1935-36 would be the end of the Devon Island venture, we thought it advisable to explore the country to the west and to the north of the post. During the latter part of March, I left Dundas Harbour with the dog-teams and three Eskimos, and travelled along the south coast of Devon Island, across to Cornwallis Island, then north into Wellington Channel to the Grinnell Peninsula where we took the land crossing to Jones Sound. We then travelled east along the south coast of Ellesmere Island until floe conditions became too hazardous. From the date of our departure until the date of our return to Dundas, we were on the move for 40 days and covered a minimum of 1,700 miles. Game was everywhere to be seen. The region could be truly classed as a hunter's paradise. Seals, polar bears, and walrus abounded where water showed amongst the floes. Musk-oxen were present in good numbers on Devon and Ellesmere Islands and small Peary deer appeared by the thousands in the fiords along Ellesmere. In addition to these game animals, beluga and narwhal were plentiful during the short period of open water in the summer.

The scene on the foredeck of the 'Nascopie', as the families gather to go ashore at Arctic Bay.

On our return to Dundas Harbour we crossed the Devon Island ice-cap. On this 'last leg', encounters with polar bears, storms and crevasses made the trip a nightmare. Previous to my going to Devon Island, I had read a report by Inspector A. H. Joy of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in which he gave a detailed description of the danger of encountering crevasses and described how to detect them. I had good cause to recall what I had read of his experiences, when we found ourselves in a maze of hidden death-traps.

In the summer of 1936, all the Eskimos assembled again at Dundas to await the second return of the *Nascopie*. She came in to anchor and soon we were informed that the decision had been made to move everyone and everything off Devon Island. Messages had been sent to this effect over the Northern Services radio program during the winter, but we had not heard them. The news was received with elation until we learned that the intention was not to return the people to their homes, but rather to move them to Arctic Bay on the north coast of Baffin Island where a trading post was to be re-opened. This plan did not affect the people from Pangnirtung and Pond Inlet, who would be comparatively close to their original homes, as much as it did those from Cape Dorset on South Baffin. To say the least, the Dorset people were terribly disappointed; I was disappointed and vexed as well, and stated my feelings accordingly. A number of plausible reasons were given for the move, the main one being that the group would be better off at Arctic Bay. This turn of events was a bitter disappointment. The Eskimos had faithfully fulfilled their part of the bargain and felt that the white men should live up to theirs. The question of whether the families were better off or not was not the issue. The Cape Dorset people, I felt, should have been given the choice of returning to their home settlement or of remaining with the other members of the party at Arctic Bay. Eventually they were shuffled from Arctic Bay to Fort Ross and finally to Spence Bay, where the survivors and offspring of the original party live permanently today.

The few original members of the party who survive at Spence Bay probably, by now, will have forgotten their past frustrations in the course of adapting to a more prosperous way of life in a location where they are literally better off .

It is more than forty years since the Dundas Harbour venture and I sometimes look back and conclude, more confidently, that I was a privileged person to have taken part in it. In more recent years the feasibility of creating Eskimo settlements farther north has been undoubtedly confirmed by the successful establishment of communities at Resolute Bay on Cornwallis Island, and at Grise Fiord on Ellesmere. The Devon Island undertaking can, I believe, be credited with 'breaking the ice' in that direction. ◆

Ultimate Respectability: Fur-trade Children in the 'Civilized World'

BY JENNIFER BROWN

The author was awarded her PhD in anthropology from the University of Chicago in 1976. Her thesis was 'Company Men and Native Families: Fur-trade Social and Domestic Relations in Canada's Old Northwest'.

Second of Two Parts

In Part One (Winter 1977), the author traced the parental relations, schooling and employment of a number of native-born children of traders, who were sent to Britain and Canada by parents anxious to advance them in British-Canadian society. In the 1830s several fur-trade children were placed in St Thomas, Ontario, under the care of banker Edward Ermatinger, a former HBC employee.

Ranald McDonald, from a daguerreotype taken about 1853.

THE MOST CELEBRATED COMPANY SON to come under the Ermatingers' care was Ranald, son of Hudson's Bay Company officer Archibald McDonald and Koale'xoa, a daughter of Concomly, an important chief in the area of Fort Vancouver on the Columbia. McDonald had married Koale'xoa ('Princess Sunday') in 1823; she died in 1824, shortly after Ranald's birth. Ranald was brought up by McDonald and his second wife, with their own large family, and educated first in a small school at Fort Vancouver and then at Red River.

As a friend of Edward Ermatinger, McDonald first broached the idea of sending Ranald to St Thomas in a letter of 1 April 1836. McDonald was by then well aware of the problems that fur-trade children could face in making their way in the 'civilized world' and had begun like some other Company officers to make an association between their difficulties and their racial background: 'All the wealth of Rupert's land will not make a *half-breed* either a good parson, a shining lawyer or an able physician, if left to his own discretion while young.' Asking Ermatinger to 'take him in hand' he expressed confidence that Ranald could not 'be under a better guardian'.

In March 1839, having completed arrangements with Ermatinger, McDonald (still stationed in the far Northwest) drafted a letter for Ranald to convey with him to St Thomas. Although Ranald had so far done well, McDonald wrote 'I cannot divest myself of *certain indescribable fears*, which you can conceive as

Courtesy of Donald L. Cosens

'Oakton Lodge', St Thomas, Ontario, c. 1900. The home of the Edward Ermatinger family where Ranald McDonald lived during his apprenticeship as a clerk in Ermatinger's bank from 1839 to 1841.

well as I can'. His plan was to apprentice Ranald directly to Ermatinger until 'the fall of '41, which will either confirm all our plans of making a gentleman *tout de bon* of him or have him enter on a new apprenticeship at any trade he may select for himself.' In 1840 McDonald again expressed anxiety over his son and added 'I do not like this [fur-trade] country for them, yet how many of them have done well out of it.' In 1841, news of Ranald's inattention and notions towards other occupations seemed to confirm McDonald's fears, causing the father to ask Governor Simpson whether the youth could be taken into the Company. While Ranald's application was pending, McDonald begged his friend 'For God's sake don't lose sight of my son, until he is fairly embarked in that concern [the Company] which I believe is the most suitable for every mother's son of them, bad as it has proved to so many.' It was Ranald's case that stimulated John Tod to send Ermatinger his own developed views on 'halfbreeds' and the problems they presented on 20 March 1843:

> I was sorry to learn that Mr McDonalds Son had conducted himself so badly, truly Mrs Ermatinger and yourself have had your hands full with the bois brulés . . . Well have you observed that all attempts to make gentlemen of them, have hitherto proved a failure. The fact is there is something radically wrong about them all as is evidently shown from mental science alone I mean Phrenology, the truths of which I have lately convinced myself from extensive personal observation.

Tod generalized and McDonald despaired: 'If he can only keep out of egregious acts of impropriety till

B. C. Archives

HBC officer Archibald McDonald, who was unsuccessful in his attempts to establish his son Ranald in a conventional career.

Elgin County Museum

The Ermatinger family playing croquet behind Oakton Lodge, St Thomas, c. 1860. Ranald McDonald found the social conventions of the British-Canadian town restricting, and ran off to seek adventure in Japan.

we can once more have him back in the Indian country, I shall consider it a great point gained . . . Here . . . he may just crawl through life as the Black Bear does — lick his paws. We are all most unfortunate parents'. But Ranald, now nearing twenty, had his own plans. His autobiography and other records of his early life relate that he gave up his bank stool out of distaste for money and a desire to travel, particularly to Japan. His curiosity about Japan and its people, who must, he believed, be related to the North American Indians and to himself, had been stirred in his boyhood by the arrival of three shipwrecked Japanese sailors at Fort Vancouver in 1834. Ranald evidently became still more acutely aware of his Indian descent once placed in St Thomas (in part because a white girl there reportedly rejected his attentions on that account) and resolved to visit Japan, 'the land of his ancestors'.

In March 1844, Ranald's father received word that his son had begun a sailing career. Unknown to McDonald, this was the first step in a design devised 'while sitting, like a Simon Stylites, on my high stool in the Bank of Elgin, with little money or means . . . no friends or influence . . . a stranger amongst strangers . . . In the monomania of the project I had sagacity enough to keep it to myself'. Ranald hoped to become a teacher in Japan, believing the Japanese 'similar to the Indians and probably ignorant, so that an

Murayama and Tokojiro, who were taught English by Ranald McDonald, later served as chief interpreters for Japan in negotiations with Commodore Perry.

educated man might make himself something of a personage among them.'

Japan was of course closed to all foreigners at the time. After a few years of sea service, Ranald secured a place on a ship passing near the Japanese coast, and arranged with the captain to be set adrift with a few books and supplies, in a small boat near the coast in June 1848. Presenting himself as shipwrecked to the Japanese who discovered him, he found that his books saved him from harm, 'for seeing me ever reading, a man of books, they drew to me: the books magnetized them: *and they made me their teacher!*' He spent the next year in Nagasaki, under guard, yet teaching English to a number of Japanese, some of whom later used their training to serve as interpreters in negotiations with Commodore Perry and others. In mid 1849, Ranald was allowed to leave Japan on an American ship, through the mediation of a Dutch factor at Nagasaki. After continuing a sailing career for some years, Ranald returned to British Columbia and the Washington area where he engaged in various small business enterprises until his death, unmarried, in 1894. Despite his best efforts, his remarkable narrative found no publisher in his lifetime. The research of William S. Lewis and Naojiro Murakami, however, has confirmed its authenticity and veracity.

Even more than his Hudson's Bay contemporary, Alexander Kennedy Isbister, Ranald McDonald was a lone independent figure. Both early caused discouragement to their guardians and superiors by discarding conventional careers after considerable amounts had been invested in their education. And the individualistic careers of both expressed a continuing consciousness of their part-Indian ancestry and identity and their affiliations to the Northwest, without their becoming classed with or assimilated among the 'halfbreeds' or Métis as a developing social and political group in the fur-trade country.

In the same years in which Isbister and McDonald were reaching maturity, certain old North Westers' sons in Canada became involved in a venture that seemed to express a sense of collective identity similar to that which had become visible among the North West Company Métis at Red River in the conflicts at that place two decades earlier. They joined an enterprise called the 'Indian Liberating Army', led by a man known as General Dickson, in 1836. Dickson, whose background is unknown, had first appeared in Washington, D.C., in the winter of 1835-36 and later turned up in other eastern cities, including Montreal, seeking support for his causes, variously described as aiding Texas and seizing California to found an Indian kingdom. He planned to lead an expedition westward from Buffalo across the Great Lakes to Red River and beyond, gathering supporters as he went, particularly from the Indian and mixed-blood populations.

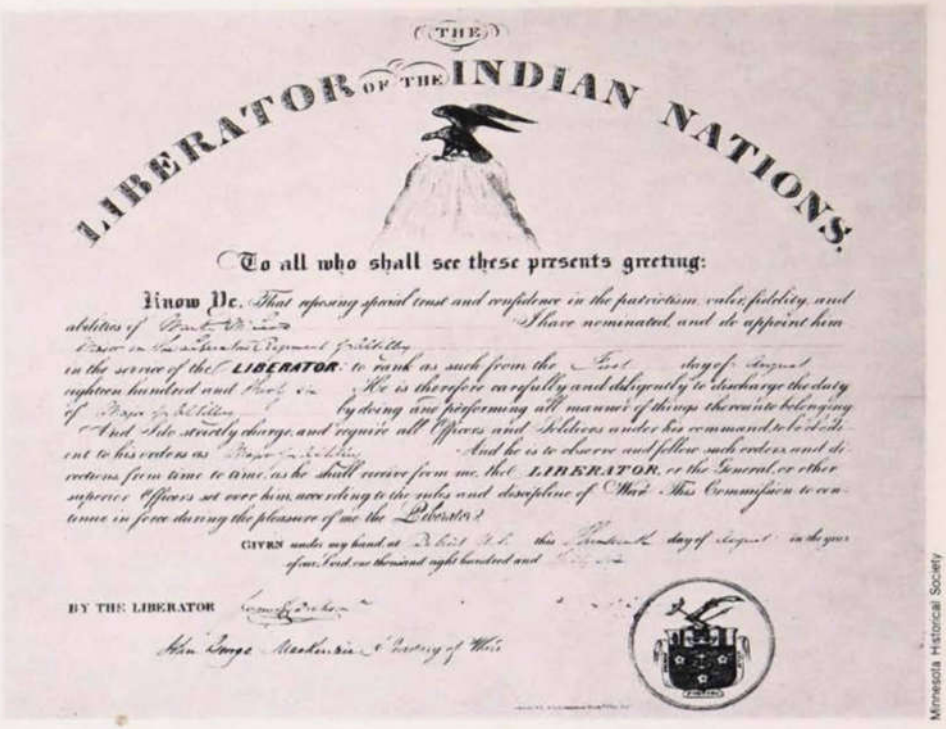
In Montreal, Dickson won several recruits whom Governor Simpson described as 'wild thoughtless young men of good education and daring character, half-breed sons of gentlemen lately and now engaged in the fur trade'. Dickson's 'Brigadier-General' was John George McKenzie, native-born son of a retired North West Company partner. Charles McBean, stepbrother to McKenzie, and Alexander Roderick McLeod Jr, older brother of the McLeod girls whose Canadian education was discussed earlier, were captains. There was also a major, a son of Chief Factor John McLoughlin. John Jr had studied medicine in Paris and at McGill University, but in 1835 his extravagant living caused quarrels with his uncle, Simon Fraser, who was overseeing his affairs while his father served in the Columbia district. Discontented in Canada, John applied to Governor Simpson to enter the Company and was refused. His father was ready to give up on him at this point: 'Is he such a fool as to suppose that people will Engage a person in this Service who has shown so Untractable a Desposition as to Disagree with his relations and Guardians . . . to shew you the little spirit he has . . . on seeing he could not get a passage to come up to this Country nor be taken in the service he offered to come up as a Common Engagee'. John's joining of the Dickson expedition, then, reflected both an interest in the cause and an eagerness to return to the Indian country and leave behind his difficulties in Canada.

Dickson and his recruits, numbering about sixty, left Buffalo for Sault Ste Marie on 1 August 1836. Numerous delays and vicissitudes slowed their progress, and by the time the party left Sault Ste Marie in September, desertion and sickness had lowered its numbers to no more than twenty. A major loss was that of McKenzie, who was obliged by illness that proved fatal some months later to return to relatives in Lower Canada.

By this time the expedition had attracted the attention and concern of various authorities. Newspaper reports of 'pirates on the lakes' had come to Simpson's eye, and caused fear that Dickson's people would incite trouble in the fur-trade country and particularly at Red River. A Company officer at Sault Ste Marie, Chief Trader William Nourse, realized that they had no sanction to pass through Company territories, and recorded for his superiors some details of Dickson's plans and aims, in a letter of 15 September 1836. After obtaining 'from one or two hundred Recruits, mounted & armed' in the Red River and Pembina regions,

> He then would proceed to the junction of the Yellow Stone River with the Missouri . . . then continue till they reached the Southern pass of the Rocky Mountain. . . . He says that while at Washington he saw many of the Chiefs of various Indian Tribes . . . and made arrangements with them (particularly the Cherokees) to join him at a designated point . . . his object is to obtain possession of California, for the Indians now about to be removed from the United States and make it an independent kingdom.

'Liberator' Dickson's commission to follower Martin McLeod is also signed by his 'Secretary of Wars' John George McKenzie, native-born son of a North West Company partner.



THE LIBERATOR OF THE INDIAN NATIONS.

To all who shall see these presents greeting:

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valor, fidelity, and abilities of [illegible] I have nominated, and do appoint him [illegible] in the service of the LIBERATOR, to rank as such from the [illegible] day of August eighteen hundred and [illegible]. He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of [illegible] by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And I do strictly charge, and require all Officers and Soldiers under his command to be obedient to his orders as [illegible]. And he is to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as he shall receive from me, the LIBERATOR, or the General, or other superior Officers set over him, according to the rules and discipline of War. This Commission to continue in force during the pleasure of me the Liberator.

GIVEN under my hand at [illegible] this [illegible] day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [illegible]

BY THE LIBERATOR [illegible]

John George Mackenzie Secretary of Wars

Minnesota Historical Society

If joined by 'the halfbreeds of Red River' Dickson hoped to capture and plunder Santa Fe, then claim California and set up 'a Military Government, preventing all except those of Indian blood, from possessing an acre of land. All Whites only to be received as Officers of the Gov't'.

Nourse correctly predicted that the already shrinking expedition was 'likely to end . . . in smoke'. In December, its last eleven members reached Red River in distress and without resources to go farther. Dickson disappeared southward. Charles McBean returned east to join his father, then a chief factor of the HBC in the Lake Huron district. The last two Company sons, now appearing capable of being troublesome if in opposition, were brought into the Company. John McLoughlin Jr was hired as clerk and surgeon for five years, and joined his father and brother in the far West. In 1841, he was murdered by his own men while in charge at a small post. Governor Simpson let much of the blame rest on John's own head for presumed mishandling of his charge; and Chief Factor McLoughlin, who had so far found his son's record satisfactory, never forgave Simpson for omitting to make a full investigation and lay charges against those involved.

Alexander Roderick McLeod Jr was made an apprentice clerk for five years, but his Company career was soon ended because of sexual conduct more accepted in older North West Company days than in 1840. Chief Trader Alexander Fisher reported in a letter of 29 December 1840 that McLeod 'has got himself into some trouble by marrying a woman with a large family, who was already the wife of . . . Houle Interpreter at Fort Halkett. . . . there appears to be some little fault on both sides. I forward Mr. McLeod to Red River that he may explain matters and defend himself.' In about 1842, McLeod appeared in Minnesota, and thereafter apparently remained in the United States. In 1862 he entered the Union Army, and died of disease in 1864 while serving in Missouri.

While numbers of Company sons faced individual problems in settling in Canada for education and employment, the Dickson expedition seems to be the only occasion upon which any of them combined to assert a common identity in a shared cause. And even in this instance, John McLoughlin Jr and the others apparently had differing personal and even ulterior motives for supporting Dickson. John George McKenzie in particular was known to have strong grudges against the Company, and some influence over his stepbrother, McBean. It was a matter of concern that he might use the Dickson enterprise to stir up Red River, already a centre of some disaffection against the Company, and to assert a claim to 'the whole of the Company's territory as their inheritance by birthright'; he may have been quite uninterested in Santa Fe and the Cherokees.

Towards the 1850s, it appeared increasingly unlikely that Company offspring placed in Canada would join or form such enterprises as Dickson's.

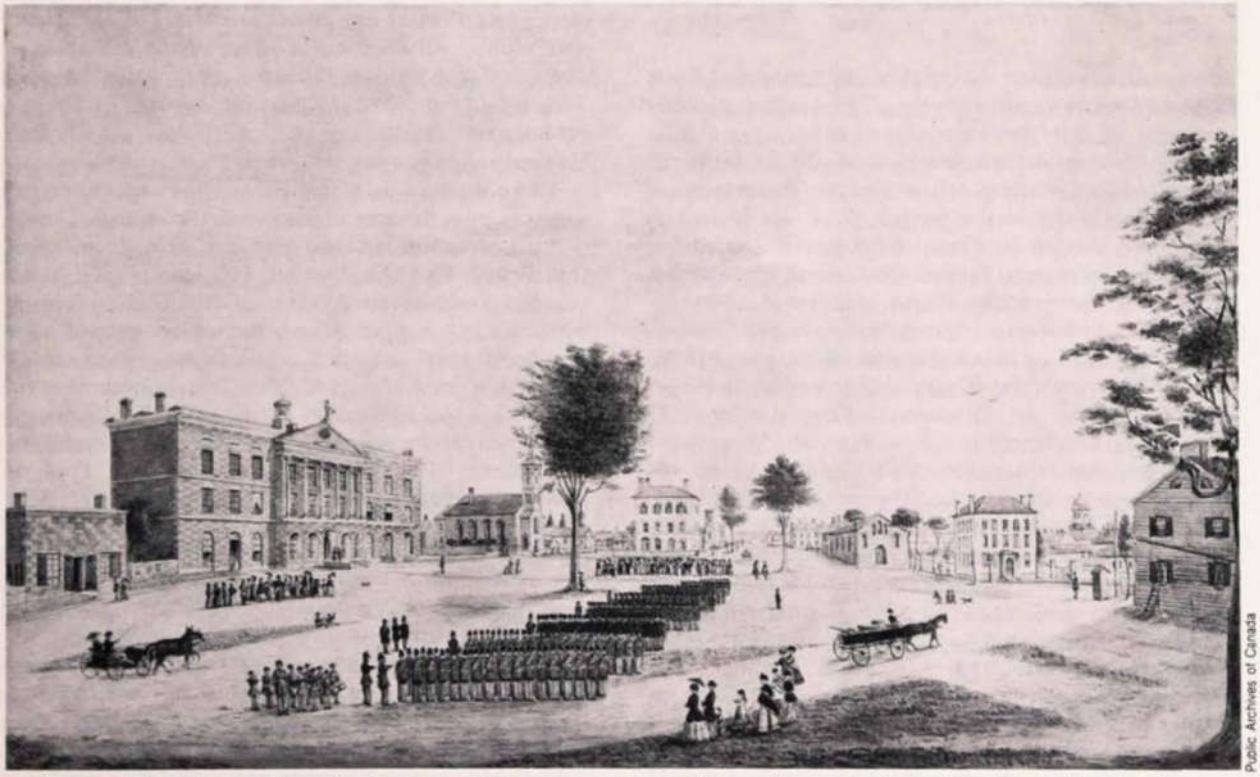
Canada was growing in population and wealth, and Company sons began to find a diversity of individual non-fur-trade lives and careers there, like their counterparts in Britain. While a small Ontario community such as St Thomas might show some occasional sign of racial prejudice, as in the instance involving Ranald McDonald, references to racial distinctions and handicaps are decidedly rare with regard to part-Indian children placed in eastern Canada. Nor is there any sign that Canadian whites attempted to make subtle distinctions based on gradations of colour; individuals of dark complexion and of Indian maternal parentage arriving from the fur-trade country were not singled out on that basis as of lower status than, for example, light-skinned persons with mothers of mixed ancestry. The apparent success of the family of North West Chief Factor John Dugald Cameron and his Indian wife in southern Ontario is of interest in this regard. Shortly before the Camerons themselves retired to Ontario, their daughters and sons were becoming well established there, as Cameron reported in a letter of 5 May 1843 to James Hargrave:

> Clouston [Orkney husband of Cameron's daughter Elizabeth] is going down to settle on his farm at Cobourg. . . . My daughter Margaret lives with her Aunt at Toronto. . . . my two youngest boys are now at College — and coming on well, the eldest of the two is now nearly qualified for any of the learned Professions. . . . My son Ronald is on a good Farm — is quite up to the practicable part and is a hard working man — he had the good fortune to marry a lovely Lassie . . . a native of England — the daughter of a very respectable farmer — Clouston will be within a short distance of Ronalds.

Shortly thereafter, Cameron himself and his wife settled in the nearby village of Grafton.

A broad tendency of senior officers with native families to follow their children to eastern Canada to look for favourable retirement prospects was remarked by John Tod in this period. Canada was growing; the fur trade was not, and by some estimates was even waning. 'Old Factors' were retiring, 'guided, no doubt, by the same instinct that teaches rats to leave a falling house — Canada-ward, seems to be their favorite roosting place.' The Cobourg area of southern Ontario became a favourite settling place of traders and their families — the Camerons, Cloustons, and others.

In 1840, Chief Factor Jacob Corrigal retired to Cobourg. His will of 1844 named as executors a former North West Company trader, Robert Henry, and an HBC son-in-law, William Nourse, who was to retire to Cobourg in 1851. Nourse's will in turn mentioned the names of George Gladman Jr and



Public Archives of Canada

The Court House Square, Brockville, Ontario, c. 1850; a water-colour by Robert Ackermann. By the 1850s Brockville and Cobourg had become popular settlement areas for retiring fur-trade officers and their native-born families.

Charles Comfort R.C.A., for the Hudson's Bay Company

Chief Factor George Barnston, the central figure in this painting 'R. M. Ballantyne at Tadoussac, 1846', arranged for his eleven children to pursue their education and careers in eastern Canada.

Thomas Gladman, of the neighbouring towns of Port Hope and Lindsay respectively. After some consultation with Edward Ermatinger and others, the Gladman brothers and their families, all descendants of Hudson's Bay Company officer George Gladman, had taken up residence in that area.

Another cluster of Company families settled in Brockville, an eastern Ontario town with easy access to other former traders who gravitated towards Montreal. Chief Factors James Hargrave and George Barnston retired to Brockville and Montreal in 1859 and 1863 respectively; Robert Miles and the native-born William Sinclair II retired to Brockville in 1861 and 1862, all bringing their families from the Northwest. Various letters, particularly those of George Barnston to James Hargrave and Edward Ermatinger, describe the lives that these officers were building for themselves and their families in Canada. Before Barnston's retirement, some of his family had preceded him to Canada. In 1846, two sons were at Lachine, 'now placed with a Mr Simpson the presbyterian minister.' In 1848, another son was at school in Montreal while a daughter was receiving 'a plain education' in Lachine. In 1858, Barnston expressed hope to Ermatinger in St Thomas that the latter might help to find 'a situation . . . for my son Aleck . . . whom I wish to place in some Banking concern. He has distinguished himself sufficiently in the McGill College to shew his abilities, but the delay will probably be too great before he can get into Business as an Engineer or Surveyor, and my circumstances do not admit of my maintaining him longer. I am therefore desirous of having him placed somewhere where he may support himself'.

Finally, a letter from Barnston to Ermatinger, dated 11 September 1872, gives an impression of the diversifying lives and careers of the large Barnston family (originally eleven children) and of certain other Company offspring in Canada and elsewhere, and of the continuing responsibilities of a Company father:

> I find that the cares and anxieties of life have not decreased with my exit from the Country, and my retirement from the Business of the Fur Trade My numerous family (the Youngest now Sixteen) has occasioned me much thought and exertion to bring up to Years of Maturity, when each should be able to play his own or her own part on the Stage of Life. . . . [Dunlop and our eldest daughter] have a family of four daughters and a son, some of whom will come home for education next year. Dunlop was Clerk ten years in the fur Trade. . . . He is now . . . thriving in Colombo, Ceylon. . . . Helen has been ten months married to a . . . manager of the London and Lancashire Life Assurance Co.

A daughter, Maggie, was about to serve as bridesmaid at the weddings of daughters of two retired chief factors, Robert Miles and John Swanston. Barnston's eldest son, John, was practising law in British Columbia; Peter (Ermatinger's 'old acquaintance') was bookkeeper in the Montreal Bank of Belleville, Ontario; Duncan was a customs house clerk for a firm of dry goods importers in Montreal; and Willie 'will soon be at some such work also, as soon as I can find a place for him'. An older son, James, had earned his M. D. in Edinburgh and held a professorship in botany at McGill University before his death, aged twenty-six, in 1858.

These and other materials suggest the variety of careers into which offspring from the fur-trade country were finding their way, and provide a view of the British-Canadian social life into which these families were absorbed as the children found places in white society and as officers themselves retired. One central feature of this society was the strong distinction between gentlemen and non-gentlemen, paralleling the distinction between HBC officers (or gentlemen) and servants that had become of increased importance within the fur trade after 1821. Traders' letters of these decades often showed active worry over whether sons would maintain or attain gentlemanly status or sink to the ranks of labourers or (in fur-trade terms) 'common engagées'. Gentlemen were, of course, educated and literate. They might have varied occupations — teacher, clerk, government official, businessman, landowning farmer — but in any case were expected to conduct themselves in such a manner that they and their families could remain independent and live comfortably and respectably.

Interestingly, the mixed racial origins of most Company children did not appear to jeopardize their

Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum

Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum

The family of George Barnston was well established in British-Canadian society by the time he retired from the fur trade to Montreal in 1863. These photographs, taken by Notman the same year, are believed to be of Mrs Barnston and son Peter, a bookkeeper.

social standing outside the Northwest; references to these origins as prejudicial seemed more common in the fur-trade country itself — for example, in the 1832 personnel sketches by George Simpson, in the phrenological determinism of John Tod, and in the anxious letters of Archibald McDonald — than elsewhere. Nor were questions of legitimacy raised in assessing gentlemanly standing, although they might have been expected to emerge, given the informal backgrounds of many fur-trade marriages. Gentlemanly status, although it came most easily to those of respectable family and connections, also depended much on individual achievement and conduct, and not just on parentage.

The placing of children was by no means confined to fur traders in north-western Canada, but was a customary practice all across the British Empire. The problems of sending children, both white and of mixed descent, homeward for schooling, and the resultant difficult adjustments and long separations between parents and children, are themes that emerge sharply elsewhere than in HBC traders' records in Canada — for example, in Rudyard Kipling's poignant autobiographical short story 'Baa, Baa, Black Sheep' concerning children sent home from India.

Historically, there are striking parallels between these placing patterns and older British and colonial patterns of parents sending children into other homes and families as boarders, servants, and apprentices. The custom of placing, required in the fur traders' particular circumstances if they desired to assure the educating and 'civilizing' of their offspring, may have been accepted the more readily by traders themselves and by their home communities because of familiarity with older parental practices designed to provide children with a suitable 'calling' and furnish them with the training, education, and work placement it might require. Some writers describing such practices in older British and American contexts, have pointed out their other possible purposes and results, intended or not. Besides finding a child a niche in the work world, such separations may have served, and were perhaps even to some extent intended, to remove children from the dangers of parental overindulgence and to reduce sexual and other rivalries within crowded families.

Perhaps such motives also added impetus to some traders' efforts to place their children in far-off schools and lodgings. Numerous HBC fathers left ample evidence, however, that educational and socio-economic considerations were dominant in their minds, as they sought to secure the respectability and happiness of children sent into the wider social worlds of nineteenth-century Britain and Canada. ◆

BIRCH-BARK BITING

Photographs and story by Frank Fieber

AT HER ISLAND HOME at Beaver Lake in northern Saskatchewan, Angelique Merasty still practises the almost forgotten art of biting designs on folded sections of birch bark. The origin of this art-form is obscure, but it is likely that it developed in a casual way. In earlier times Indian women were known to use a broad leaf or a piece of birch bark, fold it, bite a few lines in it, unfold it, and look at the design. It was a pleasant pastime.

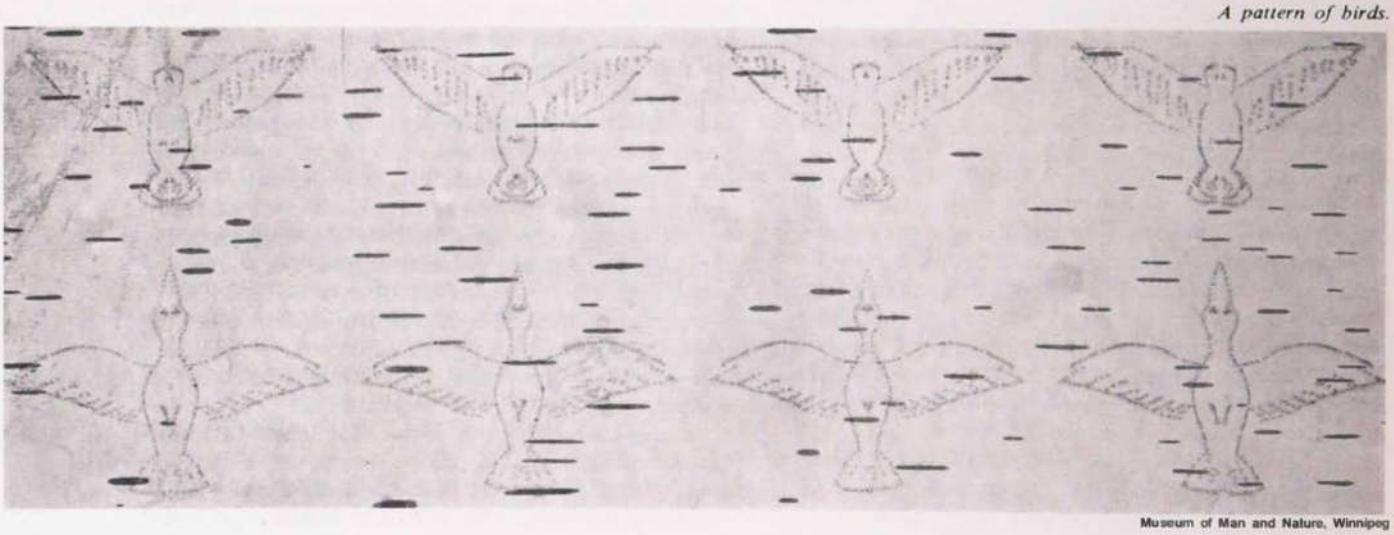
As the skill developed and was passed from mother to daughter within the tribe, the designs became more complicated and gained in artistic value. At one time the art is said to have been used to create patterns for woven beadwork, the designs being adapted for use on headbands, kneebands or shirts.

Angelique Merasty, a Woodlands Cree, does not recall that her mother ever used her patterns in beadwork; she does remember that at one time contests were held among the women of the area to see who would make the best designs. Her mother, Sarah Ballentyne of Pelican Narrows in northern Saskatchewan, was the acknowledged champion. Angelique, born in July 1927, has no daughter to continue the practice, and it is likely that her skill will die with her.

In recent years Angelique's designs have broadened from simple geometric and flower patterns to a range of subjects that include birds, animals, insects, and human figures. The 'transparencies' provide her with a modest income. When her tools — her natural teeth — are gone, Mrs Merasty says that she will turn to other familiar crafts: basket-weaving and the making of moccasins and jackets. She shares with her husband a life that is close to the traditional way of 'life on the land' — although they do own a small battery-operated television set.

For posterity, Angelique Merasty's designs in birch bark are preserved between plastic and form a part of native ethnology collections in most Canadian museums.

A pattern of birds.



Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg

Angelique Merasty with one of her larger patterns in birch bark. Her skill in the almost-forgotten art brings her a modest income; the design above would sell for around $70.00.

NORTHERN BOOKS

BARTLETT
The Great Canadian Explorer

By Harold Horwood. Doubleday, New York, 1977. 194 pp. $8.95.

Reviewed by Alex Stevenson

There have been a number of books — at least three autobiographies — on aspects of the life, and more specifically arctic adventures, of the late Robert Bartlett. In this latest book Harold Horwood, using published sources as well as others, has brought Robert Bartlett's colourful life into one volume. His foreword reads in part:

'This is the story of the greatest Canadian ice captain who ever lived — the greatest by general consent, of any nationality in this century, Robert Bartlett, who took ships to the north coast of Ellesmere Island and sledged to within 150 miles of the North Pole, made twenty-two voyages into the Canadian Arctic, and six to other parts of the Arctic, but is almost wholly unknown in Canada.'

Bartlett, born in Brigus, Newfoundland, in 1875, came from a family of seafaring men. His early years at sea were spent with his father and uncles in the Newfoundland sealing fleet. He was sixteen in 1892 when he completed his first sealing voyage. The following year he met the arctic explorer Robert Peary when the steamer *Falcon*, conveying Peary on a North Greenland expedition, called at the Bartlett fishing station at Turnavik, Labrador. This meeting profoundly influenced the life of the young Newfoundlander.

In 1898 young Bartlett sailed as first mate with his uncle, Captain S. W. Bartlett, who was Master of the *Windward*, flagship of Peary's North Pole expedition of that year. The vessel was stopped by ice in Smith Sound and wintered at Cape D'Urville on Ellesmere Island at latitude 79° 27' N. From here Peary, a keen student of Inuit methods of travel, pushed forward to Fort Conger with supplies; his heart was set on the Pole. Bartlett became involved in the sled treks and, like Peary, learned as much as he could about the Inuit and their ability to live in the arctic regions.

Peary spent four long arduous years on Ellesmere Island without organizing a successful advance on the Pole. He returned south in 1902 and many expected he would never mount another expedition. When he decided on another attempt to reach the Pole, Peary asked Robert Bartlett to be captain of the expedition's ship. Bartlett agreed, on the condition that he be allowed to accompany Peary on the final overland dash. The men sailed north on the *Roosevelt* in 1905, and again in 1908. On the final sled journey to the Pole in 1909 Peary ordered Bartlett back at 87° 48' N, and continued on with his Negro servant, Matt Henson, and four Greenland Eskimos and their dog teams. Author Horwood had hoped to avoid writing about the controversial question of whether Robert Peary or Frederick Cook ever reached the North Pole. His research produced new information and the book, of necessity, deals with these facts.

Bartlett, in his lifetime at sea, was shipwrecked twelve times; probably the most tragic episode concerned the fate of the *Karluk*, flagship of Vilhjalmur Stefansson's Canadian Arctic expedition of 1913. In preparing this section of the book, Horwood obtained unpublished material from Ernest Chafe who was a steward on the *Karluk* when she was crushed in the ice in the winter of 1914.

Bartlett is a well-researched biography. A false note is introduced, however, when the author indicates that it was an achievement when Bartlett took the schooner *Effie B. Morrisey* in 1941 to Fort Chimo up the Koksoak 'a river that has never been sounded if ever navigated by anything bigger than a small supply boat operated by the Hudson's Bay Company'. Many of the supply vessels that serviced Chimo were much larger than the 120-ton *Morrisey*. The *Nascopie*, for example, at 1,500 tons successfully navigated the Koksoak many times before World War II.

Author Harold Horwood is, as Bartlett was, a native of Newfoundland. His book is a long-overdue tribute to 'the greatest ice navigator of this century'.

Alex Stevenson is chairman of the N W T Heritage Council. He has written numerous articles on the North drawn from his long association with its people, and from his study of polar literature.

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THE ESKIMOS AND ALEUTS

By Don E. Dumond. Thames and Hudson Ltd., London, 1977. 180 pp., illus. $12.95.

Reviewed by Wendell H. Oswalt

Eskimo prehistory first attracted attention in 1866 when the English archaeologist W. Boyd Dawkins reviewed a book about Paleolithic artifacts found in France. Dawkin's thesis was that some of these finds were so similar to certain early historic Eskimo artifacts that Eskimos must be descendants of these European hunters. Thus Dawkins presented the first theory of Eskimo origins based on archaeological data. This and other theories presented a clear challenge to arctic archaeologists, but they were slow to respond. By the late 1930s, and based on limited excavations, it was widely assumed that Eskimo culture emerged from eastern Siberia in the Christian era. From 1939 to the early 1960s the dramatic discoveries of J. Louis Giddings demonstrated that the Eskimo life-

style was much older and the prehistoric sequence far more complicated than ever imagined.

Developments in the Aleutian Islands were poorly understood until the 1950s. In 1960 Don E. Dumond began ten seasons of excavation at sites along the Alaska Peninsula near the region where Eskimo and Aleut populations met in historic times. In *The Eskimos and Aleuts* we have the first book-length study of the origins and relationships of these people. The text is devoted to Eskimo and Aleut prehistory, which might well have been reflected in the title. Apart from this somewhat minor criticism I find the book well illustrated, timely and integrative; it is scholarly without being pedantic.

The oldest artifacts in the North are from the Old Crow area of western Canada, and they probably were made well before 20,000 B.C. The earliest identified campsites date c. 8000 B.C. (Kobuk River, Alaska) and include stone tools best typified by blades and cores similar to those recovered in north-eastern Asia. These artifacts of the Paleo-arctic tradition 'represent tundra-dwelling Eskaleut hunters'. As the presumed ancestors of the modern Aleuts they moved into the eastern Aleutian Islands from the Alaskan mainland by c. 6000 B.C. and most likely had developed maritime adaptations. The succeeding Northern Archaic tradition is possibly best characterized by side-notched projectile points, and the earliest finds are c. 4000 B.C. The closest affinities seem to be with developments farther south, in southern Canada and the United States, rather than with north-eastern Asia.

By c. 2500 B.C. other peoples of the Eskaleutian linguistic stock possibly emerged in Siberia, from the Paleo-arctic tradition, as the bearers of the Arctic Small Tool tradition. Their stone tools are characteristically very small with many side and end blades represented in addition to burins and microblades. After settling in northern Alaska, they soon spread across Canada to Greenland. In the eastern Arctic their descendants had emerged as the bearers of the Dorset tradition by c. 900 B.C. They made polished slate and chipped stone tools, lamps, harpoon heads, and small carvings of people and animals; theirs was a distinctly coastal, sea-mammal hunting orientation.

In Alaska the Norton tradition developed about 500 B.C. with a distinctly coastal and sea-mammal hunting focus in the north and a stress on salmon in the south. These people built the first permanent houses along the coast, made the earliest pottery, used stone lamps, and produced stone tools that represent continuities from Arctic Small Tool tradition types. From this general base the Thule tradition arose about A.D. 500 in the Bering Strait region. The weapons of the Thule people were highly developed for harvesting sea mammals, including great whales, from kayaks and umiaks. By A.D. 1000 the Thule life-style, the last prehistoric Eskimo tradition, had spread south in Alaska and influenced the eastern Aleuts. The Thule tradition also spread north and east, replaced the Dorset people, and became the lifeway of Canadian and Greenlandic Eskimos.

Dumond provides details about the origins, spread, and characteristics of each cultural 'tradition'. He is careful to point out when his interpretations are at variance with those of others and when the data base is weak. Anyone interested in the prehistory of northern North America cannot ignore his valuable contribution.

Wendell H. Oswalt teaches anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles, and is the author of a number of books about Indians and Eskimos.

WILDFLOWERS ACROSS THE PRAIRIES

By F. R. Vance, J. R. Jowsey, and J. S. McLean. Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, 1977. 214 pp., illus. $14.95 hardcover/$8.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Karen L. Johnson

This compact field guide fills the gap which has existed for the average person trying to identify wildflowers in the prairie provinces. Formerly, only technical non-illustrated floras and Lloyd T. Carmichael's *Prairie Wildflowers*, covering far fewer species and with only black and white photographs, dealt with the plants of this region.

The book resulted from the authors' recognition of the lack of an adequate field guide for the prairie region and was made possible, in part, by a Canada Council Explorations Program grant given to the second author, Dr J. R. Jowsey, which financed the necessary field work. The three authors, all amateurs, each made a discrete contribution to the book. F. R. Vance provided the majority of photographs; J. R. Jowsey did the written descriptions of the plants and co-ordinated the book's production; and J. S. McLean, a self-taught artist, contributed all of the detailed line-drawings.

The book covers 270 species of plants and is arranged by plant family, with the family grouping generally following that of a scientific flora: monocots first and then dicots and from simple to more advanced families within each category. This arrangement makes use of the book easier and is a definite inducement to learn the characteristics of the common plant families such as the rose, sunflower, and lily. The reader looks up the appropriate family in the family index and turns to the first page listed. By leafing through the few (never more than 20) pages, he can easily find the plant if it is covered. There is also a colour index which lists all the plants by flower colour group. There are only four categories, however, and it could take the reader longer to track down the plant. The book also includes a brief written and illustrated glossary of technical terms and an index to both the scientific and common names of the plants covered.

Both the illustrations and the text descriptions of the plants are excellent. It is one of the best layouts I have seen in a field guide. All the information, pictures and text, is on the same page. Each plant is illustrated by a habitat colour photograph showing the general surroundings in which it prefers to grow, a closer colour photograph of the entire plant with flower(s) or fruit, and a close-up colour photograph or detailed line-drawing of the flower or other diagnostic characteristic.

The text has the common and scientific names in the heading and then information on the flower, fruit, leaves, growth habit, and habitat with each topic set off by the appropriate word in bold-face type. It will require some persistence to learn to use this book because of its taxonomic organization, but the layout and format are so clear that

it is not a difficult one to master. I do wish that the book included the family name, both scientific and common, with each plant, and a capsule description of the most pertinent family characteristics before each section dealing with the plants of that family.

Unfortunately, the quality of the production is not quite up to the excellence of the format and text. The colour printing is adequate but certainly not exceptional. The binding on the paperback edition is just plain inadequate. It seems to be bound too close to the printed edge of the pages, and they pull loose like perforated tear-sheets under even moderate usage. The hardcover edition overcomes this difficulty.

The book still provides the best available coverage of the plants of the prairie area for the general public, and is a useful guide for anyone living in the prairie region or interested in prairie plants.

Dr Johnson is curator of botany, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

ERRATUM

In the illustration on page 7, Autumn 1977 issue, the statue in the door niche of the gateway to Christ's Hospital was identified as a Blue Coat boy. Two readers: one a graduate, the other presently a student at the school, have provided the information that the statue is of the young King Edward VI, founder of the school. They also note that when Christ's Hospital moved from London to Horsham, Sussex, in 1902, the gateway was moved brick by brick and incorporated into the outer wall of the assembly hall. This photograph of the statue as it appears today was provided by Christ's Hospital student Alexander Went.

DYES FROM LICHENS AND PLANTS
A Canadian Dyer's Guide

By Judy Waldner McGrath. Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., Toronto, 1977. 144 pp., illus. $14.95.

Reviewed by Margaret Ferguson

Judy Waldner McGrath is a native of California, and a dyer, weaver, sculptor, and teacher. She developed her detailed methods for nature-dyeing between 1971 and 1977, while she and her husband were living in Spence Bay. She has also lived in Newfoundland, Rankin Inlet, and is now in Goose Bay, Labrador.

During her first arctic spring, Judy McGrath was amazed by the rich colours obtained from tiny arctic flowers when she used them to dye wool, fur, and duffel cloth. She continued to test other plants, and the Inuit women who had become her friends became interested and brought her new plants. They were intrigued by the varied colours that developed in the dye pots.

From this beginning grew the idea of a workshop to provide an opportunity for the women to develop their own creative potential that had been stifled by the financial and environmental poverty in which they lived. The workshop was a great success and, with the help of a grant, a cottage industry developed. Parkas, toys, and cloaks were made and in 1974 a national award for toys was won. Also in that year the women made 400 parkas that were used as the official uniform for the 1974 Arctic Games held in Alaska. These parkas and toys were made of duffel cloth and embroidered with yarns dyed in beautiful shades from the arctic plants and lichens growing in the Spence Bay area.

Judy McGrath developed seventeen methods for dyeing from her experiments with arctic plants and lichens. Although the plants used in her book may not grow in other areas of North America, the methods are general ones that could be used for any plants or lichens. She has included a list of plants that grow in more southern areas that will give similar results with each method. Of particular interest to dyers are the special dye methods for lichens, which are detailed and important, for little has been written on this subject.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I includes the author's introduction to Spence Bay and the development of the workshop. There are thirteen beautiful colour plates showing sixty-one samples of plants and the many colours produced from these in wool and other materials. The colours are excellent and the plates are helpful in demonstrating the results from each plant and method used.

Part II includes the instructions for gathering, drying and storing of different kinds of plant material, and general instructions for making dyebaths, mordanting and dyeing the fibres. Part III provides the key to the colour plates. There is also an index of plants and lichens by colour (including southern plants) with their botanical and common names.

This is a complete and detailed book. It has excellent instructions for the beginner in the craft of nature-dyeing, and suggestions for further experiments for those more familiar with the craft.

Mrs Ferguson was on the staff of the department of home economics, University of Manitoba, for a number of years. She now teaches a course in spinning and nature-dyeing at The Crafts Guild of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

A CREE LIFE
The Art of Allen Sapp

Introduction by John Anson Warner and Thecla Bradshaw. J. J. Douglas Ltd., Vancouver, 1977. 127 pp., illus., $24.95.

Reviewed by Olive Patricia Dickason

This coffee-table presentation of the paintings of Allen Sapp, one of our leading western painters, has arrived in the wake of the trend to honour an artist by the publication of a monograph. It is the first time that a Canadian Indian artist has been thus honoured. Also, it is indicative of a more assertive sense of western regional identity that it should be the work of a Saskatchewan native son that was selected by a Vancouver publishing house for the purpose. Ninety-one of Sapp's paintings have been attractively reproduced in colour and in black and white to evoke the life of 30 years ago on northern prairie reservations. Although Sapp's subject matter is intensely personal, his appeal is as broad as nostalgia; this,

'Horses Eating' by Allen Sapp. From 'A Cree Life: The Art of Allen Sapp'.

and a distinctive palette, combine to make him an excellent genre painter. Canadians, and particularly western Canadians, will have little difficulty in acclaiming this book.

That acknowledged, it remains to evaluate it in the light of its goals, which the authors state to be 'to provide insight into the life, nature and artistry of the Plains Cree artist Kiskayetum Saposkum, or Allen Sapp, as he is better known'. Then, contrarily enough, they write that they 'have not written an art commentary, as Allen is only in mid-career and this would be premature, even presumptuous.' Such an attitude illustrates the difficulties we have in according Indian artists full professional respect. If critics had had such reservations about the works of Pablo Picasso or Bernard Buffet when those artists were in mid-career, how would they have become critical successes during their lifetimes? In Canada, the work of the Group of Seven was not exempt from critical attention, albeit vociferously negative, when it was first exhibited. If Sapp's work is worth being presented in a glossy format such as this, it is worth analyzing. One comment which the authors allow themselves which could have been illuminating if it had been developed, is to the effect that Sapp 'shows no special interest in the art of the masters'. Presuming that they are referring to the great artists of the western world, one is led to wonder if they have considered Sapp's attitudes towards masters of Indian — or, specifically, Cree — art. Neither, apparently, was Sapp influenced by the American western school as developed at Santa Fe, as he did not know about it.

This reluctance to evaluate Sapp as an artist results in a concentration on him as an ethnographer. Indeed, it is frankly within this framework that his work is presented: 'A Cree Life'. In this, the paintings are helped by their titles — 'My Friend's Place at Red Pheasant Reserve a Long Time Ago', 'Making Rabbit Soup', and 'An Old Man Died', to give an indication — as well as by Sapp's own naive but pungent captions. This is first-rate ethnography combined with sensitive artistry. To emphasize the point, of the 22 authors listed in the bibliography, 14 deal with Indians in general or with current social and political problems; only eight deal with the arts.

Sapp the artist would have been better served if at least one other criterion had been used in the selection of his paintings — that of his development as an artist. This could have been done within the book's limitation of illustrating Cree reservation life. As it stands, we are presented with paintings that are all more or less on a level, although tantalizingly enough the text tells us that Sapp did go through different stages before evolving his present style. We are even given hints as to what those earlier stages involved — an attempt to adopt the values of the dominant society, for instance, and the urge to glamorize reservation life when committing it to canvas.

On top of this, we are given no information about the paintings presented in the book: nothing about the materials used, sizes of

canvases, dates of execution, or even about provenances. One thing we are provided with, which is useful, is a list, to date, of the major exhibitions of Sapp's work.

As for the text, it is principally confined to a sympathetic retelling, with some elaborations, of the well-known facts of Sapp's life. Given their position on analyzing Sapp's work, the authors would have been wise to have left it at that; but unfortunately they considered it necessary to venture into the historical background of the Cree as a people. There they have foundered in over-generalizations and inaccuracies. To cite only one example of the latter, they say that Europeans first established contact with the Cree 'in the period 1640 to 1690'. Such a statement not only ignores earlier English penetrations of Hudson Bay (Henry Hudson was there in 1610-1611), but also the French presence; even in Champlain's day — and the father of our country died in 1635 — the French were trading with the Cree, who, incidentally, were also on the east side of the Bay, not just the west as the authors indicate. As for generalizations, their version of the Cree migration to the plains is both vague and hypothetical, to say the least.

In spite of these qualifications, we can applaud the publication of a beautiful book that will hopefully pave the way for more fully developed studies in the future.

Olive Patricia Dickason is assistant professor, the department of history, University of Alberta, and author of 'Indian Arts in Canada'.

MRS. DOCTOR
Reminiscences of Manitoba Doctors' Wives

Edited by Audrey Peterkin and Margaret Shaw. Prairie Publishing Company, Winnipeg, 1976. 168 pp., illus. $5.00 paperback.

Reviewed by Ruth Matheson Buck

This book is dedicated to the Manitoba doctors' wives of an earlier generation. The twenty-nine who contributed their reminiscences are all women whose husbands were medical graduates of 1921 or earlier.

The work was a project of the Family Physicians' Wives' Club of Manitoba. The material is drawn from several parts of the province, with the assistance of many persons in the taping and transcribing of the interviews, and in the collection and reproduction of old photographs.

The period covered includes two world wars, the influenza epidemic of 1918-19, and the years of the depression. These themes recur, but with interesting variety, for each chapter is devoted to the experiences of one woman, a distinct individual, no more shaped to a particular mould than was her husband.

Their stories discredit the belief that it is only the women of today who resist role-casting and that those of a previous age were cut to one pattern. According to that idea it would only be today's young wives who work to assist in financing their husbands' courses.

Then what of the Lamonts of Treherne? The first of that line of doctors graduated from Manitoba Medical College in 1889, and both he and his wife taught school to make it possible.

And what of a wife who continued her own career, either independently in another field, or to assist her husband in his practice?

'When you've worked as a nurse as long as I did, and have seen so much of life, you learn to make excuses for what people are and what they do.' Mrs G.W. McIntosh was approaching the age of ninety when she made that comment in her interview. She had continued nursing to give her husband effective help with post-operative patients.

For Mrs Murray there was little choice but to resume nursing when her husband's health failed. She kept on until she was seventy-five.

Mrs P. H. T. Thorlakson, a graduate in home economics, made a career of voluntary work. She was active in the organization of a child nutrition club in a depressed area of Winnipeg, and served on various executives and boards that ranged from Girl Guides to the University's Board of Governors. On the latter, two other doctors' wives had preceded her, Mrs H. M. Speechly and Mrs Digby Wheeler.

In music and drama and the arts in general, the names Etsell, Ginsberg, and Sharman come readily to mind; while Mrs La Flèche, in addition to her music, took an active part in kindergarten work for almost forty years.

A comment on the back cover refers to the reminiscences as 'part of the history of Manitoba'. That is correct, and the material has been thoughtfully prepared and presented. Why then did the editors neglect to supply an index, and hamper any search for facts or names by obscuring every story with some trite — even flippant — heading? And finally why did they crown the whole serious endeavour with a hackneyed and inept title?

Mrs Buck is author of 'The Doctor Rode Side-Saddle': the biography of her mother, pioneer doctor Elizabeth Matheson.

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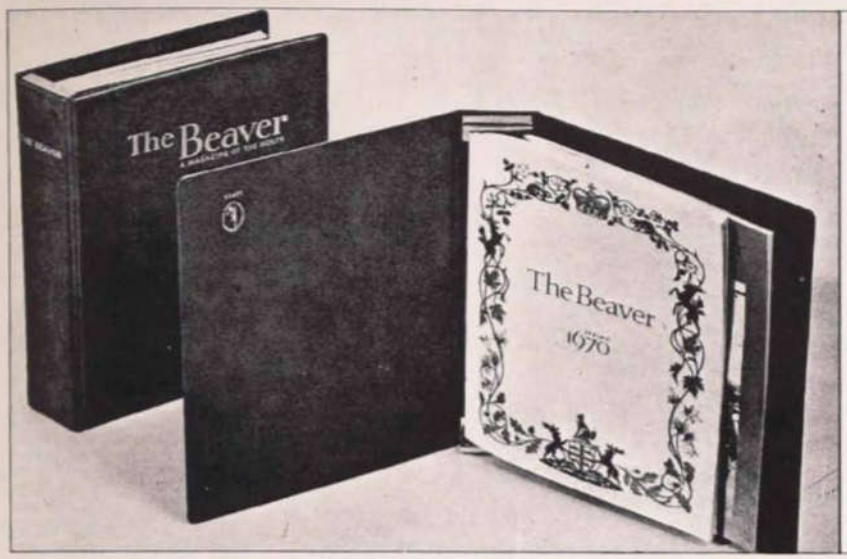
MENNONITE FURNITURE

By Lynda Musson Nykor and Patricia D. Musson. Photographs by Martha Kuehner. James Lorimer & Company, Toronto, 1977. 96 pp., illus. $15.00 hardcover / $6.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Philip Shackleton

A specialized regional study of craft should surely record a significant body of data hitherto unpublished or unavailable in compact form. An excellent example of a local study of furniture-making in Canada is *The Cabinet Makers of Norfolk County*, capably edited by William Yeager and published in 1975 by the Historical Society of that southwestern Ontario community.

Under Yeager's direction, this modestly-produced book provides a real wealth of information concerning the cumulative heritage of furniture-making in Norfolk and, very important in any local study, a detailed record of many of the individual furniture-makers who preserved or developed that heritage. It wastes no space on exotic writing but offers a mass of 'chapter and verse' information about the people who made furniture in Norfolk.



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The most recently released local study in the field, *Mennonite Furniture* by Lynda Musson Nykor and Patricia D. Musson, is far off the rich standard established in Norfolk. In paperback cover its price tag is attractive to bookshop browsers, but on the inside this book delivers much less than it promises. The full title identifies its target as 'The Ontario tradition in York County' and a large portion of its text actually deals with Mennonite social and spiritual history. There should normally be no quarrel with such backgrounding of a main subject; the philosophic traditions and the immediate living environment are basic to understanding the development of any craft. But in this case only a third of the text is actually devoted to the story of furniture-making in that part of York County where a German influence is important.

Merit in the work lies in its identification by name of furniture makers in Markham and Vaughan Townships and in the attribution of certain pieces of furniture to specific craftsmen. Its greatest value appears to be in the special attention given to the brothers Barkey, furniture-makers of the mid-nineteenth century, whose work, alone among 43 pieces of furniture illustrated, displays something of genuinely identifiable local style development.

The authors' fuller attention to work of the latter half of the nineteenth century is justified. In this rural pioneering society, indeed in most of Upper Canada, much furniture of the early years was little more than basic. Adventure in furniture design, at least for common folk everywhere, was something to be indulged in in later and more prosperous years. As the authors suggest, these later years brought significant modifications as a result of new-furniture-style influence from the larger outside community. And certainly unique character through hybridizing, frequently to the point of great charm, is best to be seen in Ontario among later nineteenth-century furniture in communities where the basic tradition of the first settlers was German.

If one is cautious in the reading, and willing to forego debate over precise meaning in terminology, then there is here an adequate story of furniture in the Mennonite community of York County. It is unfortunate that adequacy as a level of attainment is too often the Canadian standard.

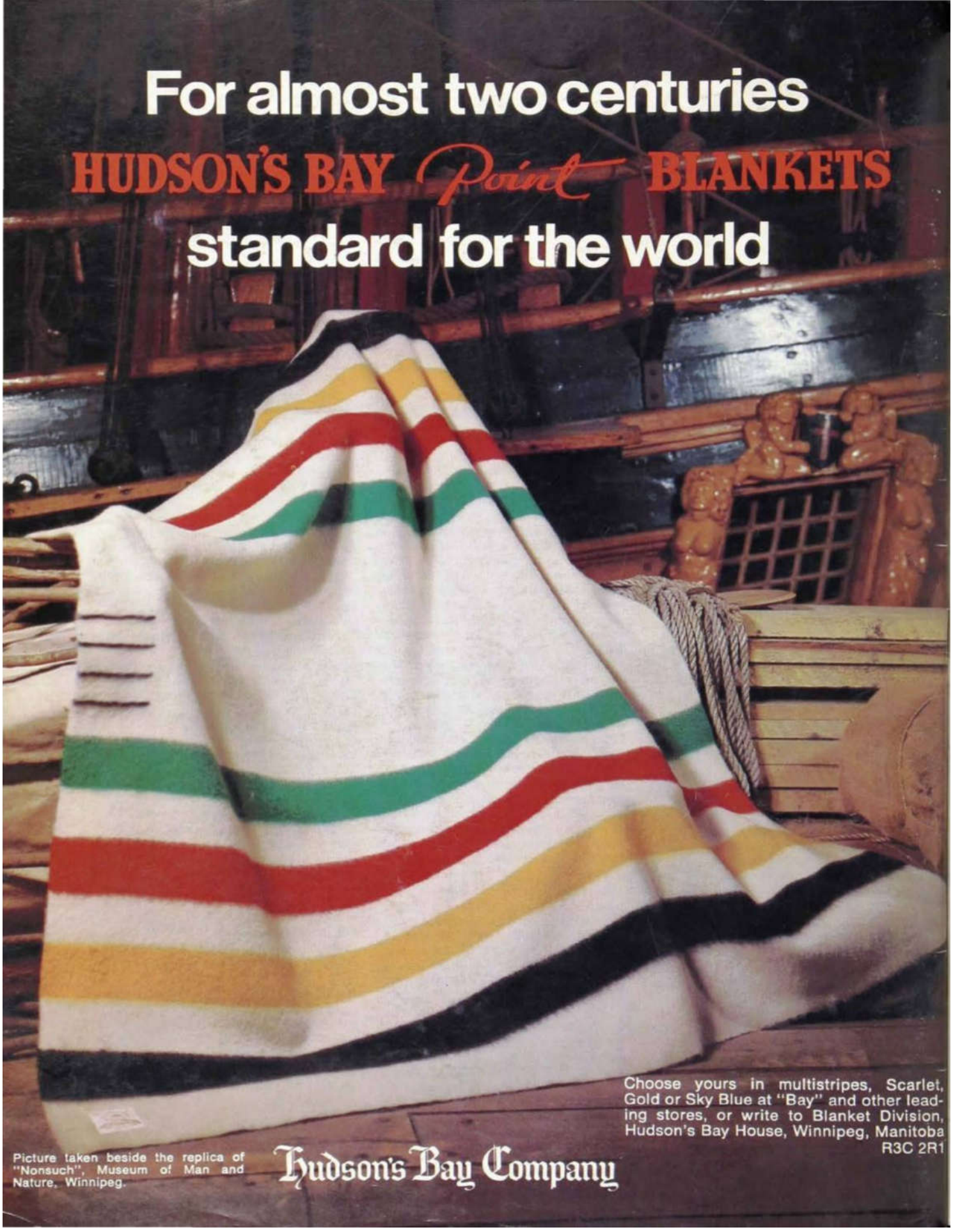
The photographs by Martha Kuehner are exactly what is required in such a study. They are good, explicit catalogue pictures which reveal more of the furniture's character than does the text. The authors are to be applauded for their concentration largely upon illustrations of furniture still in the homes for which it was made.

The reader in this field must rely on exact descriptions and the use in the text of a glossary of standardized furniture design terminology. When authors misuse an appreciable number of these terms then the reader can scarcely profit. In this book *carved* is used to indicate a scroll-sawn curve; *inlaid* sometimes takes the place of veneered; *beading* is used to describe a machine-made moulding; *ogee bracket* becomes incomprehensible. The authors also insist repeatedly on *forged nails* at a period when machine-cut nails had long been the norm.

The reaction of one community to the influence of neighbours can make a fascinating study. The tracing of style detail as adopted and modified by one society from another can have no better field study opportunity in Ontario than among those rural communities of German background.

But when the field workers choose to illustrate this influence with a chest of drawers that is virtually a textbook example of city high style of the mid-1800s, then one must be forgiven for questioning other areas of the book that are probably entirely reliable.

Philip Shackleton of Ottawa is author of 'The Furniture of Old Ontario'.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